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The Beaver

EXPLORING · CANADA'S · HISTORY

Hockey's First Golden Age

The Art of J. S. Hallam

Lincoln Versus John A.

The Beaver

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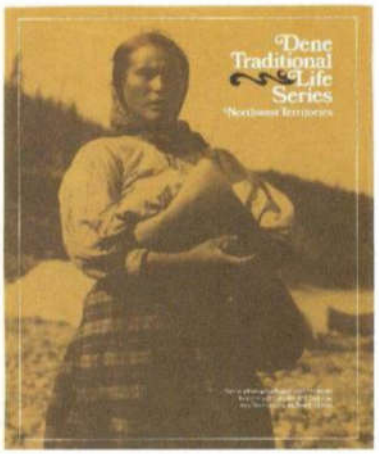

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Simpson at Red River

Good fortune came unexpectedly to George Simpson, but when it came he was ready for it. Born out of wedlock in Scotland in the eighties of the eighteenth century, he was raised by his father's family and while he was still a teenager he was taken into an uncle's sugar brokerage firm in London. He applied himself and learned the sugar business inside out.

Simpson might have spent his life as a sugar broker, but in 1812 the family firm merged with Wedderburn and Company and young Simpson got to know George Wedderburn. A sister of Wedderburn's had married Lord Selkirk in 1807 and through his brother-in-law Wedderburn had been drawn into the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company, first as a shareholder and later as a member of the board.

In 1820, through the good offices of his friend (who had changed his name from Wedderburn to Colvile in 1814), Simpson was sent to Rupert's Land as a sort of stand-in overseas governor and manager of the fur trade, a business of which he knew next to nothing when he arrived in Montreal in the spring of that year.

Out in the field he learned quickly and called for an end to the often violent struggle that was going on between the HBC and the North West Company, pointing out that "the N.W. Co. are not to be put down by prize fighting, but by persevering industry, 0economy in the business arrangements, and a firm maintainance of our rights not by the fist but by more deadly weapons." The fur trade, after all, was much like the sugar business. Sound business methods, a shrewd understanding of problems and diligent work led to success.

When the companies merged in the following year, Simpson was well placed for advancement and he was made Governor of the Northern Department with a vast territory to administer and almost vice-regal powers.

In the years that followed, Simpson expanded his influence over Company affairs, becoming, if effect, the overseas governor of the HBC, although he had to wait until 1839 before being formally named Governor-in Chief of Rupert's Land.

Some called him "The Little Emperor" and there was certainly an imperious element in his nature. Responsible for a territory that extended from the Lakehead to the Pacific, Simpson made lightning canoe journeys over his domain, attended by an entourage that, on occasion, included a piper. There were many strings to the fur trade, and Simpson kept hold of them all, dealing personally with problems, visiting trouble spots and keeping close watch on Company servants.

In those first years in America Simpson drove himself hard, at some cost to his health. Life, however, was not all work and no play. Like others in the fur trade, Simpson formed sexual attachments with native women *"a la façon du pays"* and he appears to have viewed these women with scorn and treated them, more or less, as chattels, speaking and writing of them as "the commodity", "his bit of circulating copper", "his bit of brown". Demoted mistresses were palmed off on those in the lower ranks of Company service. The various liaisons of his early life had produced bastards as well. There were two in Great Britain and at least four in Rupert's Land, all of whom he made modest provision for. In time to come they would vex him and cause him painful embarrassment.

By 1829 his hectic life, with whirlwind journeys from Montreal to the West Coast and up and down the country between, was taking a heavy toll on his health. In a letter to Colvile, he announced his intention of returning to England for medical advice and added, "Exertions which were formally but exercise for me are now fatiguing, indeed my snowshoe walk across the Mountains and overland journey from Saskatchawaine have wrought me a good deal".

He was in London by September and while wintering over, Simpson, by now in his 40s, decided to take a wife. He selected his eighteen-year-old cousin Frances. The newlyweds would reside in the settlement at Red River.

Arriving in Canada in the summer of 1830, the couple began a triumphal progress across the country, visiting posts along the way. It was like a Royal Visit, but trouble was waiting in Rupert's Land, where Simpson's "country wife", Margaret Taylor, and her children were eagerly awaiting his return. "The commodity" and her children were hustled out of sight as the Simpsons approached the settlement, being packed off, with Nancy "Matooskie" McKenzie, the cast-off mistress of another Company official, to Bas de la Riviere, where both women were married off over the next year. A face-to-face confrontation had been averted but there was hard feelings and a decidedly unpleasant atmosphere.

Further offence was caused when Simpson let it be known around the settlement that the mixed-blood wives and relations of Company officials would not be received socially by the new Mrs. Simpson.

Red River in 1830 was an exceedingly small place and the Simpson snub was widely felt and widely resented. Red River society was not good enough for the governor and his bride and during that first winter Simpson made up his mind to establish another residence and HQ twenty miles along the Red River. Lower Fort Garry would not be ready until the end of 1832. In the meantime, the Simpsons were forced to soldier on at the upper settlement, living in a renovated house consisting of four rooms and a kitchen, described by the governor as "passably habitable".

The winter, when it came, was a novelty at first, and Simpson, writing to a friend just before Christmas, was able to say that "Mrs. Simpson enjoys a Red River Winter and I myself am much better thank God than at any time for the last 12 months."

By the New Year, however, there had been a sad change. "You'll be sorry," Simpson told another correspondent, "to learn that my poor wife is by no means in good health." In fact, she was pregnant.

For the rest of the winter and into the prairie spring Frances Simpson was confined to her room while her husband, not in the best of health himself, fretted and fussed.

In June he had to leave her alone while he travelled up to York Factory on business. In September a son was born and shortly after that an early winter closed in.

It was a miserable season. At the end of December Simpson wrote to a friend, complaining that the weather was "unusually severe ..." To another correspondent he wrote that the weather had "made a hospital of almost every House in the Settlement." He was, he said, "most heartily tired of Red River". The weather was awful and the company worse. Having cut themselves off from those "tainted" with mixed blood, the Simpsons were forced to rely for society on the likes of the wife of Rev. Cockran who "shines only when talking of elbow Grease and the scouring of pots and pans."

In the Red River Settlement, everybody knew everybody else, and when winter closed in, there was a tendency to get on each other's nerves. "I could fill volumes," Simpson wrote to a friend, "with the details of the most Vindictive & Malicious intrigue that ever entered the mind of man which I have witnessed since I came here. In short, I am sick and tired of Red River and would be off tomorrow if I currently could — indeed I am becoming quite disgusted wt the country and remain in it because I am not yet prepared to be off."

It was while he was in this bloody-minded mood in the wretched Red River winter of 1831-32 that Simpson began work on what is now known as his "Character Book", a collection of thumb-nail sketches and personal evaluations of Company servants, many of them highly critical. It was clearly intended for private use. The Red River winter, his wife's illness and now the illness of his infant son, problems with the cook, back-biting and intrigue in the snowbound settlement all contrived to bring on the black bile. Of one colleague he wrote: "Is exceedingly vain, a great

George Simpson

Egotist, Swallows the grossest flattery, is easily cajoled, rarely speaks the truth, indeed I would not believe him upon Oath ..." Of another: "A frothy trifling conceited man who would starve in any other Country and is perfectly useless here: fancies, or rather attempts to pass himself off as a clever fellow, a man of taste, of talents and refinement; to none of which I need scarcely say he has the smallest pretension."

On 22 April 1832 Simpson's infant son died, the final blow of a bad winter. A year later the Simpsons returned to England and when George returned to America in 1834 Frances remained behind, not joining him until 1838. There would be no homecoming to Red River.

From 1834 Simpson made his headquarters at Lachine, entering Montreal society, expanding his business interests and growing rich. The trips to the West continued and he would circle the globe on Company business, but those winters at Red River were a dark shadow on his memory.

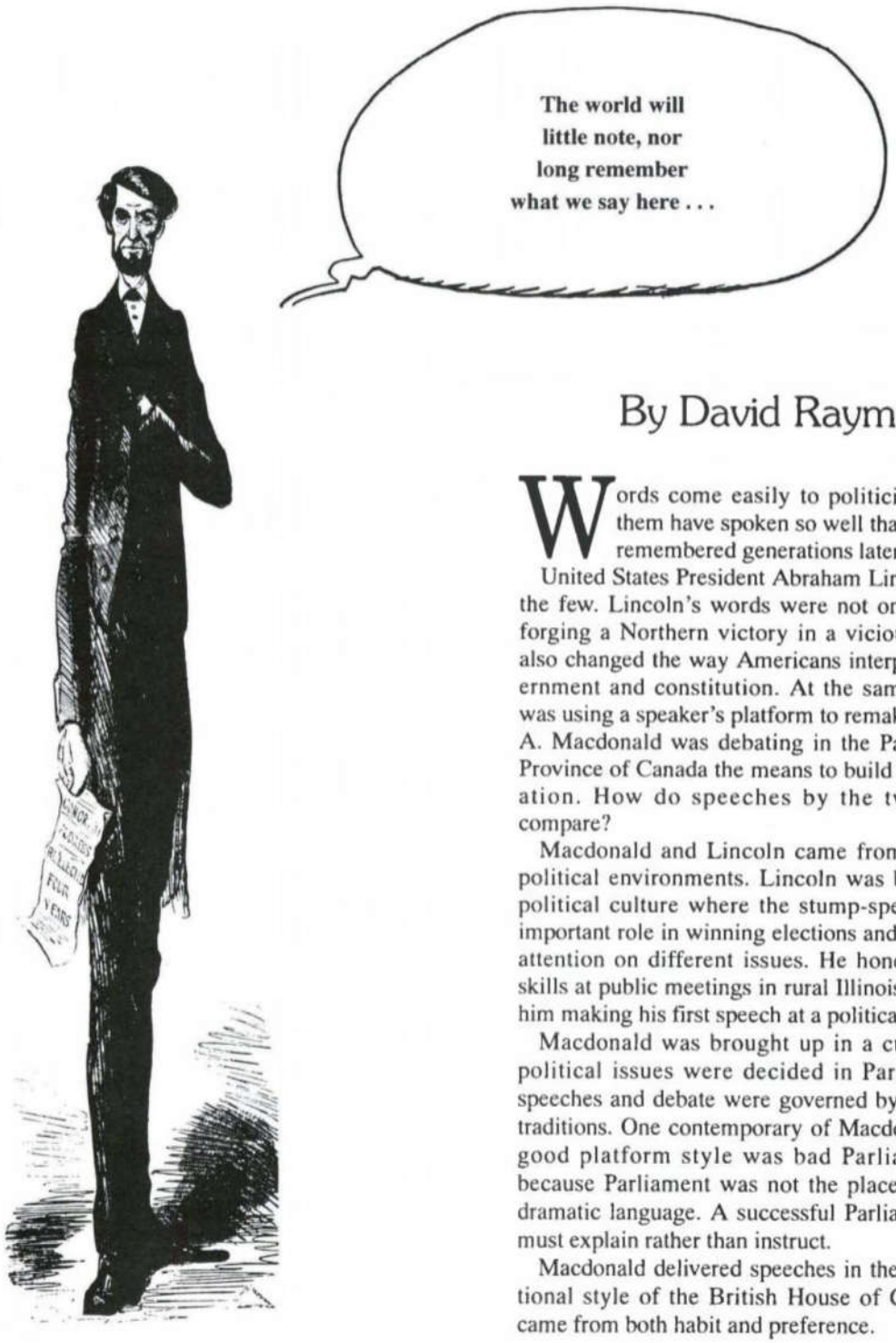
He was knighted in 1841 and died, not surprisingly, of apoplexy in the autumn of 1860, just as the sun was beginning to set on the Western empire he had helped create.

It wasn't really an empire and he was not, as some called him, "Emperor of the Plains", but in his prime he was the next best thing and he dominated, with acumen and shrewd cunning, something like an empire.

— Christopher Dafoe

(From "Rupert's Land to Riel" volume one of a new history of Manitoba; Great Plains Publications, Winnipeg, 1993).

THE GREAT DEBATE:



By David Raymont

Words come easily to politicians, but few of them have spoken so well that their words are remembered generations later.

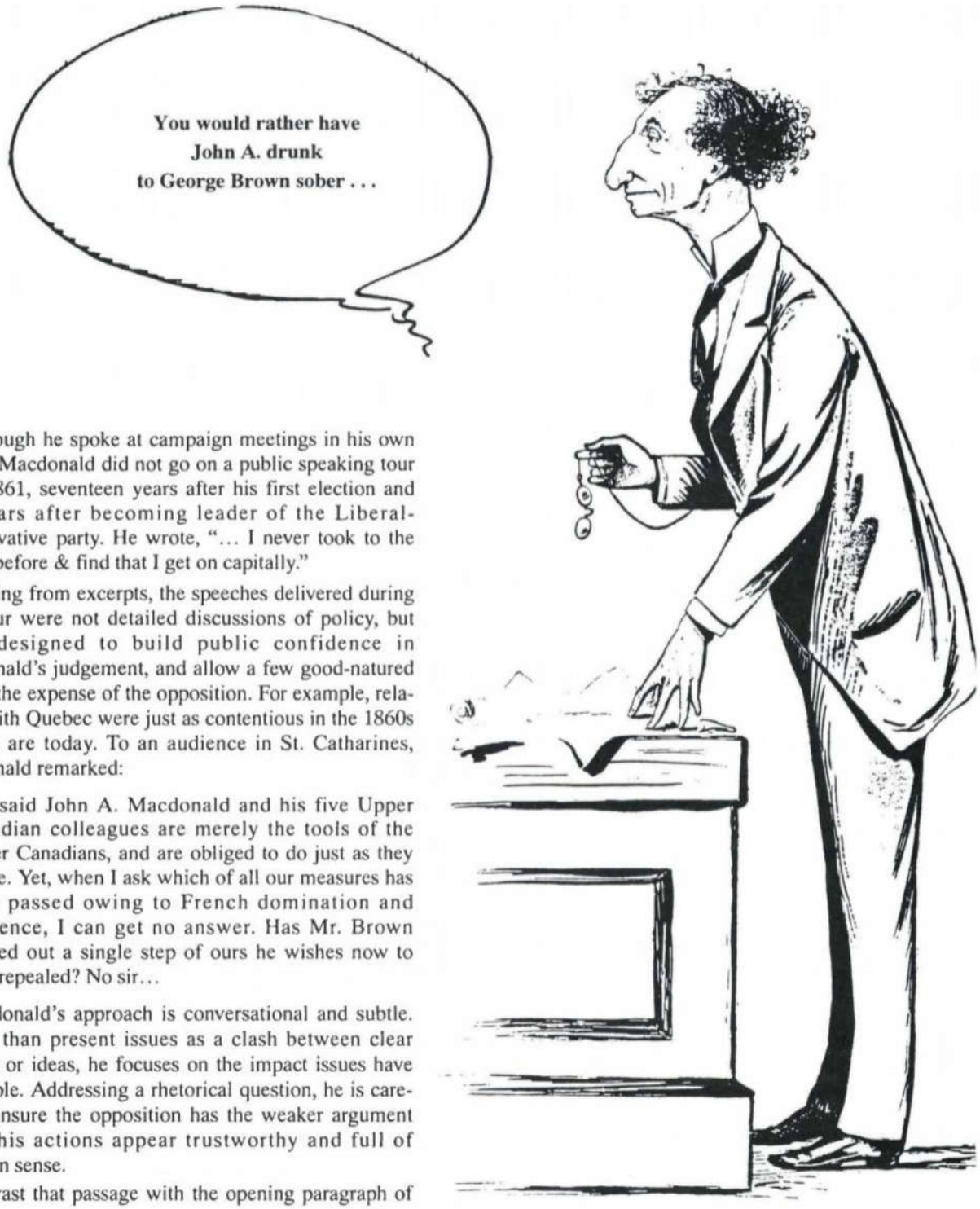
United States President Abraham Lincoln was one of the few. Lincoln's words were not only important to forging a Northern victory in a vicious civil war but also changed the way Americans interpreted their government and constitution. At the same time Lincoln was using a speaker's platform to remake a nation, John A. Macdonald was debating in the Parliament of the Province of Canada the means to build a new confederation. How do speeches by the two politicians compare?

Macdonald and Lincoln came from very different political environments. Lincoln was brought up in a political culture where the stump-speaker played an important role in winning elections and focusing public attention on different issues. He honed his speaking skills at public meetings in rural Illinois and legend has him making his first speech at a political rally.

Macdonald was brought up in a culture in which political issues were decided in Parliament, where speeches and debate were governed by strict rules and traditions. One contemporary of Macdonald wrote that good platform style was bad Parliamentary style because Parliament was not the place for rhetoric or dramatic language. A successful Parliamentary speech must explain rather than instruct.

Macdonald delivered speeches in the semi-conversational style of the British House of Commons. This came from both habit and preference.

LINCOLN VERSUS JOHN A.



Although he spoke at campaign meetings in his own riding, Macdonald did not go on a public speaking tour until 1861, seventeen years after his first election and six years after becoming leader of the Liberal-Conservative party. He wrote, "... I never took to the stump before & find that I get on capitally."

Judging from excerpts, the speeches delivered during that tour were not detailed discussions of policy, but were designed to build public confidence in Macdonald's judgement, and allow a few good-natured jabs at the expense of the opposition. For example, relations with Quebec were just as contentious in the 1860s as they are today. To an audience in St. Catharines, Macdonald remarked:

> It is said John A. Macdonald and his five Upper Canadian colleagues are merely the tools of the Lower Canadians, and are obliged to do just as they please. Yet, when I ask which of all our measures has been passed owing to French domination and influence, I can get no answer. Has Mr. Brown pointed out a single step of ours he wishes now to have repealed? No sir...

Macdonald's approach is conversational and subtle. Rather than present issues as a clash between clear choices or ideas, he focuses on the impact issues have on people. Addressing a rhetorical question, he is careful to ensure the opposition has the weaker argument while his actions appear trustworthy and full of common sense.

Contrast that passage with the opening paragraph of

Lincoln was often criticized for his tendency to tell jokes. Here he contemplates his Democratic rival General George B. McClellan, leader of an army more likely to dig in than fight.

Lincoln's carefully constructed appraisal of the spread of slavery in a speech to the Illinois Republican State convention in 1858:

> A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

Lincoln's sentences are crisp yet contain four rhetorical devices — two examples of parallelism, sentences structured the same way, and two of antitheses, or contrast — as well as a quotation from the *New Testament.* The focus is on the issue, stripped free of personalities and circumstances. The logic is clear, leaving little room for compromise. This sharp focus was the secret of Lincoln's eloquence. His words order his thoughts, and each word is carefully selected to smoothly move the logic of his argument from one point to the next.

Lincoln's ability with words was not the result of grammar school learning or the guidance of others. He was self-taught in grammar and rhetoric. He carefully studied the speeches of the American politician Daniel Webster, and was strongly influenced by the writing of the transcendental philosopher, the Reverend Theodore Parker. The reasoning and rhetoric of both are reflected in his speeches.

Macdonald also respected Webster, but did not model his remarks after Webster or any other politician. Unlike Lincoln, no formal philosophy focuses his speeches, other than maintaining the British connection and the union of English and French cultures.

His speeches, as well as his questions and answers in Parliament, sparkled with a range of literary allusions that reflected his broad reading in political biography, poetry, and popular novels. In 1862, he amused the parliament of the Province of Canada with a comparison between Premier John Sandfield Macdonald and George Brown to Mary Shelley's Victor Frankenstein and his monster.

A nineteenth-century reporter said Macdonald was "distinguished for speaking without premeditation, and [was] a master of repartee. [He was] impatient of the tediousness of formal debate where a few minutes of conversational discussion would dispel every misconception..."

Lincoln never enjoyed impromptu speaking and usually made a poor impression speaking without notes. His biographer, Stephen Oates, writes that Lincoln's greatest joy was delivering logical, eloquent speeches from a prepared text. The speech to the Illinois Republican convention, quoted above, was written and rewritten, and rehearsed before friends, a year before its delivery.

These prepared texts did not come easily. Lincoln's law partner, William Herendon, recalled that they were the result of agonized hours of labour. When his son Robert lost his only copy of his first inaugural address as president, Lincoln despaired that he had no time to write another despite the fact the ceremony was ten days away.

Proof of Lincoln's careful and focused preparation is found in Garry Wills' recent book on the Gettysburg address. In the 272-word speech, Wills finds 28 rhetorical devices.

Myth aside, Lincoln did not scribble the text on the train from Washington to Gettysburg, or the night before the dedication ceremony, or the morning of the event. He may have been rewriting his text, but at least two people recall Lincoln working on revisions of his two-minute remarks at least three days earlier.

This constant rewriting and revision would have bored Macdonald who frequently complained that other politicians' speeches were too much like essays. He wrote that he found American speakers to be "too theatrical in...manner, and turgid in style" His secretary, Sir Joseph Pope, recalled Macdonald was "impatient of detail".

When he needed to speak on a subject that required research, Macdonald did not wade through official papers and legal precedents. He asked his secretaries to prepare a short memo, explaining to them in a few words what he intended to say. He would then jot down a few points from the memo and, using the points as a guide, speak from 20 minutes to an hour.

John A. Macdonald, a Ulysses in Parliament; a cartoon from the "Canadian Illustrated News", 1873.

Lincoln's careful preparation grew from the fact that he never stopped studying grammar, and his long interest in the theatre. His secretary, John Hay, recalled Lincoln relaxing late at night with discussions of rhetoric and the ways actors interpret Shakespeare.

Macdonald spent his evening hours reading newspapers and magazines in bed, or would unwind playing solitaire. Although he once said he would have enjoyed a career as a writer, Macdonald, unlike Lincoln, was not a lifelong student of language. His most significant contribution to the study of language was a memo written in 1890, requiring government documents be written following British, rather than American, spelling.

Away from the podium, both politicians are remembered for their keen sense of humour. Lincoln loved satirical stories and word games, but they do not figure in his major speeches, such as the Gettysburg address or his 1858 speech to Illinois Republicans. On the stump, however, he would use humour to amplify his message. Speaking about the absurdity of laws that make people property, he said "If Canada now had as many horses as she has slaves belonging to Americans, I should think it just cause for war if she did not surrender them..."

Macdonald also enjoyed word games, but his humour was more directed towards people and situations, rather than ideas. He especially enjoyed mocking human frailties, including his own. "You would rather have John A. drunk to George Brown sober," he told one audience.

Words provide a window on the way people think and feel. The conversational speeches of Macdonald and the intricately prepared statements of Lincoln clearly show two distinct personalities.

They also show the different political cultures of Canada and the United States a century ago. The impact of television, that demands statements in seconds rather than sentences, has since brought the art of public speaking in Canada and the United States much closer . ◆

David Raymont is a Toronto freelance writer.

Quote, Unquote

I desire to live, and I desire place and distinction; but I would rather die now than, like the gentleman, live to see the day when I could change my politics for an office worth three thousand dollars a year, and then feel compelled to erect a lightning rod to protect a guilty conscience from an offended God. — ***Abraham Lincoln on a colleague who changed parties.***

I am told that you can come in on the train in the morning and start ploughing in the afternoon. I am told that some in this new country are not content, but you know, ladies and gentlemen, some of us will not be content in heaven if we hear of a place farther west. — ***Macdonald, to voters in Brandon, Manitoba.***

You have heard the story, haven't you, about the man who was tarred and feathered and carried out of town on a rail? A man in the crowd asked him how he liked it. His reply was that if it was not for the honour of the thing, he would much rather walk. — ***Abraham Lincoln on being asked what it was like to be president.***

Given a Government with a big surplus, and a big majority and a weak Opposition, you could debauch a committee of archangels. — ***John A. Macdonald, circa 1869.***

The trouble with Hooker is he's got his headquarters where his hindquarters ought to be. — ***Abraham Lincoln on receiving a dispatch from Civil War General Hooker headed "Headquarters in the Saddle".***

In the Upper House, the controlling and regulating, but not initiating branch, we have the sober second thought in legislation. — ***John A. Macdonald on the Senate of Canada.***

Joseph Sydney Hallam

Introduced By Paul A. Hallam

Joseph Sydney Hallam was born in Manchester, England in 1899 and came to Canada in 1910. His art education began in Hamilton, Ontario and continued under J.W. Beatty at the Ontario College of Art. He received a thorough grounding in anatomy and under F.H. Varley mastered perspective, rhythm and composition.

He was employed by Sampson Mathews as a commercial artist along with J.E. Sampson, Franklin Carmichael and A.J. Casson. He frequently went on sketching trips with Casson to Carmichael's cabin on Cranberry Lake near Willisville, Ontario. They would paint during the day and theorize about art and the ideologies of the 1930s.

In the 1940s, Sampson Mathews developed a process for making silk-screen reproductions of Canadian paintings which were used in the war effort to brighten the billets and messrooms of our military camps. Hallam's works are well represented in the collection.

His paintings reflect a broad interest in subject matter, from landscapes to portraits both in oil and water-colour. Many sketches are really small paintings done on site and characteristically include people. They have a lively and in some cases humorous or provocative view of life. Syd Hallam was commissioned to do a series of paintings of early Canada based on prints from the John Ross Robertson Collection of the Toronto Public Library. The series was sponsored by the O'Keefe Brewing Company of Canada as a public service to encourage the purchase of Victory Bonds in 1945 and 1946 and was titled "Canada Unlimited". Although this was a commercial assignment, the fine art treatment predominates. People are always included to add interest and subject involvement.

Another commission was a canvas for the Seagram collection of paintings of the "Cities of Canada" which depicts the city of Toronto as seen from Centre Island. The skyline of the fifties is very different from the way it is today.

J.S. Hallam was a member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, the Ontario Society of Artists and the Society of Painters in Water-colour. He sketched in Ontario, Quebec and the maritime provinces. His works are represented in the National Gallery, Ottawa, the Art Gallery of Ontario, the London Art Museum, the Sarnia Public Library, the McMichael Collection as well as galleries in Halifax, Owen Sound, and the collections of H.R.H. the Queen and His Holiness Pope Pius XII. In his introduction to the 1954 retrospective exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists, R. York Wilson paid his friend Syd the following tribute:

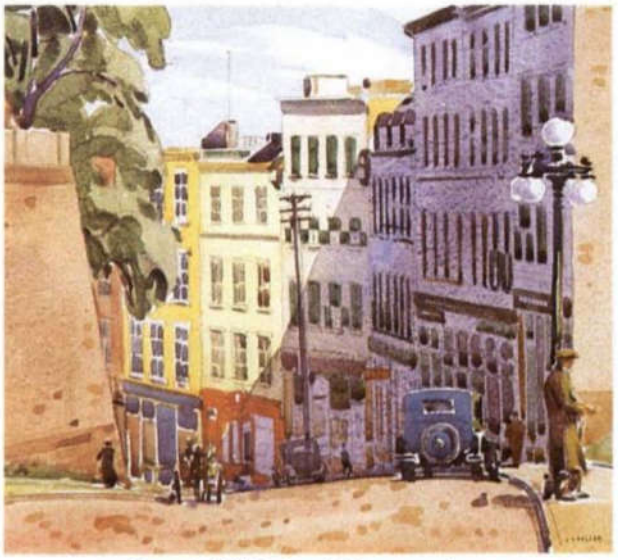
> His paintings are significant to a large audience and because of the subtlety of their organization, the layman is able to enjoy the subject matter without being conscious of distortion, while a studious observer is rewarded by the discovery of many nuances in the technique of picture making. Syd Hallam was equally competent as a painter of both landscape and figure. He had an unusual colour sense and a thorough knowledge and appreciation of pictures, whether traditional or modern. It is not surprising, therefore, that artists indicated their respect for his judgment in electing him continuously to the juries of the Royal Canadian Academy and Ontario Society of Artists. ◆

Paul A. Hallam of Don Mills, Ontario, is the son of artist J.S. Hallam.

Gas station at Magnetawan Store, 1933, water-colour.

Cape Breton Harbour, 1948, silk-screen.

Skiers in Lawrence Park, Toronto, 1948, oil.



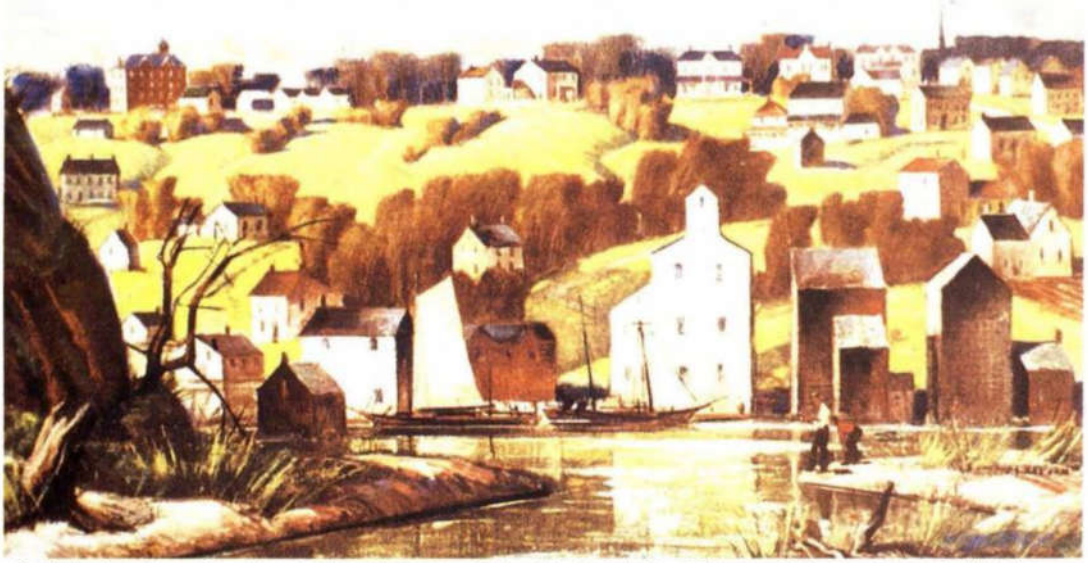
Mountain Hill, Quebec, 1928, water-colour.

"The Reluctant Pianist" (the artist's son), 1943, water-colour.

Log-driving, 1948, silk-screen.

Hudson's Bay Company Collection

"Distributor" at Fort Norman, 1942, hauling war supplies for the United States Army, oil.



St. Catharines, Upper Canada, painted in oils from an old sketch in the John Ross Robertson Collection, Toronto Public Library. The view is from the south side of Twelve Mile Creek.

"You might as well suicide nearer home . . ."

The Strange Expedition of Alexander McArthur

By William Barr

In the early 1880s the Arctic was frequently in the headlines, and it exerted a great fascination for a large segment of the population on both sides of the Atlantic. In no small measure this was due to the efforts of newspaper promoters such as James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald.*

Two disasters particularly caught the imagination of the general public. In 1883 an expedition led by Lieutenant Adolphus W. Greely, one of the United States' contributions to the International Polar Year, abandoned its base at Fort Conger on Northern Ellesmere Island and retreated south to Pim Island where they began an enforced wintering. When a relief ship finally reached them in June 1884 only seven of the 25 men were still alive. On the other side of the Arctic, in 1879 the USS *Jeannette,* under the command of George W. De Long, sailed north through Bering Strait in an attempt to reach the North Pole. The ship became beset in the ice near Ostrov Vrangelya (Wrangel Island) shortly afterwards and drifted northwestwards with the ice until it was finally crushed north of the Novosibirskiye Ostrova (New Siberian Islands) in June 1881. Her crew headed south with sledges and boats, but a large proportion of them perished. A massive search was mounted for the missing expedition, both by sea and overland through Siberia, and the story was widely reported in the European and North American press.

In Canada (and especially in Manitoba, with its keen interest in developing a navigable Hudson Bay Route as a means of exporting its grain) substantial interest was focused on a series of Hudson Bay expeditions, mounted by the Canadian government to investigate the possibility of navigation and to determine sea ice conditions in Hudson Bay and Hudson Strait. Led by Lieutenant Andrew Gordon, the first expedition in 1884 established six wintering stations at different locations along Hudson Strait; the following year these stations were resupplied and in 1886 they were evacuated.

Although the Arctic was thus kept in the forefront of the news, there were still substantial areas unexplored in terms of purely geographical exploration, and even larger areas almost totally unknown in terms of their geology, flora and fauna. Thus, for example, the interior of the Keewatin, *e.g.* the basins of the Thelon, Dubawnt and Kazan, was largely *terra incognita,* while the vast area lying between the Back River and the arctic coast had never been visited by Europeans. Farther north, while much of the Arctic Archipelago had been perfunctorily explored (as regards its geography) by expeditions searching either for the Northwest Passage or for the missing Franklin expedition, in terms of science the archipelago was still largely unknown. And finally, in the Far North, absolutely nothing was known of the area north of Jones Sound and west of the east coast of Ellesmere Island. This enormous lacuna in the geographical and scientific knowledge of the Canadian Arctic was to exert a compelling pull on an amateur ornithologist in Winnipeg, who felt that he might be able to offset the trauma of family losses by making a contribution to arctic science.

Alexander McArthur is probably best known in Manitoba as one of the founders, in 1879, of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, predecessor of the Manitoba Historical Society, and for his publications in the society's journals. These latter include articles such as "The cause of the rising in the Red River Settlement, 1869-70," published in 1882, "A tragedy on the plains: the fate of Thomas Simpson, the Arctic explorer" published in 1886, and "Our winter birds" published in 1887. It is not generally known, however, that just as the last of these articles appeared in print, in January 1887, McArthur was making final rather frantic, yet somewhat naive preparations for an expedition to the Arctic.

Born in Nairn, Scotland on 5 June 1843, McArthur worked as a youth in a local law office and served as secretary to the Nairn Literary Institute before emigrating to Canada in 1861. Joining the Hudson's Bay Company he worked as a clerk in the Montreal Department and was then employed by the Toronto Bank, first in Montreal, then in Toronto. The contacts he made in the Hudson's Bay Company would later stand him in good stead.

In October 1869 McArthur travelled west to the Red River Settlement and thus was there at the time of the disturbances in the fall of that year. He appears to have been confused by some historians with his brother Peter, who was one of those arrested along with John Christian Schultz by Louis Riel on 7 December 1869. There is a possibility, however, that Alexander was also arrested and imprisoned.

Once things had become more settled Alexander opened a general merchant's store, then bought a sawmill on the Winnipeg River and established a retail lumber business in Winnipeg. In 1878 he helped establish the Manitoba Investment Association, and served as its vice-president and general manager until 1885; he was also agent for the North West Navigation Company, organized by his brother Peter. Elected a city alderman in 1879, he was a benefactor of, and also secretary-treasurer to the newly established Winnipeg General Hospital.

When the "Winnipeg boom" collapsed in 1882-83 McArthur lost heavily. Then in January 1886 his wife and second son died within a week of each other. Undoubtedly the desire to erase the memory of this personal tragedy by immersing himself in some activity close to his heart played a significant role in stimulating his dream of mounting an arctic expedition, aimed partly at ornithological research.

Alexander McArthur, courtesy Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

The first intimation in the surviving archival record that McArthur was contemplating an expedition to the Arctic is to be found in a letter addressed to him from Dr. Spencer F. Baird, the distinguished director of the Smithsonian Institution, dated 5 August 1886 and clearly in response to a request for assistance. It is clear from this letter that at this early stage McArthur had set his sights on an ornithological expedition to the lower

McArthur's Winnipeg: Main Street, circa 1880.

Coppermine River; the tone of Baird's letter is strongly supportive, in that it suggested that McArthur could help to establish the boundary or overlap between the Californian or Western avifauna, *i.e.* those wintering in California, and those wintering in the Gulf of Mexico. Baird wrote:

> I shall be glad to co-operate in every way with such an enterprise as yours; and to make such arrangement with you as will secure, for placing in the National Museum, the best series of birds and their eggs. Having the great collections of Kennicott, McFarland, of Ray and Murdoch from Point Barrow; and Nelson and Turner from northeastern Alaska, etc., there is no place where such material would be better placed, in the interest of science, than at Washington.

Most significantly Baird promised limited financial support for possible publication:

> ...indeed we should undertake to have any report that you might make printed at the expense of the Institution. Our means are not extensive, but we can do something in this direction.

By a coincidence, at precisely this time the flamboyant figure of Colonel William H. Gilder passed through Winnipeg. Gilder was a veteran of Schwatka's impressive overland search of King William Island for relics of the Franklin expedition in 1878-80, and of the search for the missing *Jeannette* and subsequently for her crew in Siberia in 1881-82. Now he was mounting an attempt (supported by the *New York Herald*) at reaching the North Pole via York Factory [See *The Beaver,* April/May 1988]. It is fairly clear that the two men met, and while McArthur may not have revealed his plans to Gilder, he seems to have extracted as much information as possible from the experienced American arctic traveller. Among the things he probably obtained from him was the name and address of one of his backers, a New York businessman and former Canadian, Erastus Wiman, to whom McArthur immediately wrote for support. Wiman's reply (dated 11 November) was less than encouraging, however. He pleaded that his financial situation was such "that I cannot yield to temptation of this kind," and could not afford to buy McArthur's collection of birds which he had evidently offered for sale. Wiman further stated that he had helped Colonel Gilder in order "to stand well with the *Herald* people, to whom I am beholden for many favors." He further suggested that McArthur might also think of approaching a rich newspaper proprietor, such as Whitelaw Reif of the *New York Tribune.*

In view of his connections with the Hudson's Bay Company it was only natural that McArthur should approach one of the most experienced living arctic travellers, and a former employee of the Company, Dr. John Rae, for advice. Rae's reply, written on 12 November 1886 from his home in England, where he lived in retirement, was quite bluntly discouraging, but it reveals that McArthur was now planning to push north into the arctic islands, apparently overland across

Keewatin; this probably reflects the influence of what McArthur had learned of Gilder's plans. In summation Rae wrote

> I express my regret again that I cannot offer you better hopes of success, for I consider your scheme (except in a very modified way) wholly impracticable, with the means you intend using, unless indeed you and your two or three men are something superhuman.

Rae had established a well-deserved reputation for travelling vast distances on foot in the Arctic and hence McArthur should not have been entirely surprised at his question:

> Have you yourself practised walking sufficiently to be able to walk continuously for a thousand miles or more at the rate of 20 miles or more a day, hauling a sledge of from 50 to 70 lbs. weight so as to lighten the loads of your men, and lead them, also making detours to see the lie of the coast, while the others make straight cuts?

Nonetheless it must have given him pause for thought.

In a letter dated 24 September McArthur had also intimated to Dr. Baird that he had shifted his focus farther east, but it is not clear whether he told him that he now proposed penetrating north into the islands. In his reply, dated 24 November, Baird advised McArthur as to what birds and animals he should look out for, particularly the almost-extinct Labrador duck and the muskox, with a view to selling the skins to museums. Baird also noted that while the Smithsonian's funds were limited he could probably pay the wages of an assistant and generally "help the cause as far as it can be done."

On 8 December 1886 McArthur wrote to Dr. Robert Bell of the Geological Survey of Canada, a field geologist with vast arctic experience, to enquire about maps of the west coast of Hudson Bay. His reply, dated 15 December, was to the effect that the only sort of map available was the Admiralty chart and that: "Even this is a mere outline, no survey ever having been made."

Bell was also less than enthusiastic about McArthur's plans to hunt muskoxen:

> If you ever reached the ground at all, I fancy you would wish you had never gone. Still I presume you have made yourself acquainted with the difficulties and trials of the undertaking and are ready to brave them.

Bell concluded with some advice which provides an intriguing insight into this government scientist's view of the Hudson's Bay Company: "If you say a word about your project and it comes to the ears of any H.B.Co. man, they will send up ahead of you & you will not be likely to get much sport or many skins."

Dr. John Rae: "I consider your scheme . . . wholly impracticable."

Also on 8 December McArthur had written to Wiman to enquire about possibilities of getting assistance (and/or transport) from the New Bedford whaling companies. In his reply Wiman held out little hope: "By inquiry I ascertain that there is very little likelihood of the New Bedford people doing much in the shape of arctic whaling. There is only one vessel out and when she returns it is said they will sell her." But Wiman did supply the names of whaling companies from whom McArthur might obtain further information.

At some stage McArthur had sent a list of equipment which he felt he would need on his expedition to Dr. Baird at the Smithsonian. Replying on 20 December Baird regretfully reported that he could not supply any of it. This is certainly a very different message from that contained in his earlier letters and McArthur, justifiably, felt that he had been betrayed.

On 2 December McArthur had written to the veteran Hudson's Bay Company trader and explorer Roderick McFarlane to ask for advice, books and maps. Replying from the Royal Colonial Institute in London on 21 December McFarlane offered assistance:

> Before I leave I will endeavour to look up the kind of map you require. I will also see about the Rae and

Kennedy books you refer to and endeavour to obtain any useful information etc. from Dr. Rae whom I have already met on several occasions at this Institute and elsewhere.

On 17 January 1887, writing from his rooms at the Mackenzie Hotel in Winnipeg, McArthur replied to Dr. Robert Bell's letter. In that it is one of the few examples of McArthur's letters which have survived, it merits being quoted at some length:

Dear Doctor Bell,

Thanks for your recent letter. I have no time to send home for maps of the region about Boothia Felix and north to Bellot's Strait but I may get them from another source. I am surprised the Canadian Govt. haven't got these, particularly the former on which the Magnetic Pole is at present situated and I suppose may be called Canadian soil.

I am not surprised you take a gloomy view of my journey but it is not a new idea with me. I have had it in view since the night some 36 years ago when I first heard of the search for Sir John Franklin and the present scheme has been in my head ever since I lost my family now twelve months ago. It is the first time in my life I have been in a position to attempt it.

I have been disappointed in not getting a couple of chronometers and a pocket sextant from the Smithsonian as Profr. Baird led me to understand he could aid me in that way but it turns out that such things are returned to the Signal Service Bureau over which he has no control and I suppose he cannot ask them for a private expedition.

I don't suppose there would be any use attempting to get them from the Ottawa Govt. I have to furnish everything myself and I grudge paying for instruments which will really be used in the public service because it will compel me to go without other things which are quite as necessary; but if you know any way in which they could be got I will be very glad.

I am not going to interfere with the Hudson's Bay Company in any way — all the musk-ox I will take away will not hurt them.

Do you know of any complete musk ox mounted anywhere in museums on either side of the Atlantic? Did you ever try to obtain one, head, horns, skin, fur, legs below the knees? Did you ever get a barren ground reindeer for mounting complete? Why is it necessary to live on raw blubber? Rae was in the midst of those animals and life of all kinds and had no necessity to live on blubber raw or otherwise. Penny saw, away in the North Georgian Islands, musk ox, deer, fox, bear, birds of all kinds and in the open sea to the northwest of Melville Island he saw walrus, whales, and seals in rich number. I know many travellers have had to live with and as the Eskimo lived but their expeditions were simply badly planned and badly carried out. That harum-scarum (no-) good blockhead Kane was reduced to this and starvation, but why? Because he was as thoughtless as the savages and although he reached 82 (degrees) or so he was stupid enough to think he had nothing to do but turn his vessel southward whenever he liked. He never laid in a particle of fresh meat or fish or fowl that fall although he was only victualled for a year and even 60 miles south of him he found the Eskimo were rioting in fresh seal, walrus, etc. all winter. If you have plenty of seal you do not require to eat it raw and if you do it is when your appetite is so keen that you do not think much of the rawness... I have no high opinion of 3/4s of Arctic travellers and of all those Sir Jhn. Franklin stands about the lowest. His only successful journeys were really performed by Hudson's Bay people and he would have starved to death but for them. There is not a radius of 50 miles, Kane says, in which abundance of animal life cannot be got in the Arctic regions. At the same time I do not underrate the difficulties or dangers and it may be that I may be unsuccessful or that I may lose my life in the attempt. There are so many contingencies, so many possible accidents that with the utmost foresight, caution and precaution cannot be foreseen or guarded against that I undertake the journey only after setting my house in order, just as I would if attacked by a severe disease or leading a forlorn hope. Of course I feel that it is not now the enthusiasm of youth or the love of fame that impels me to this journey so much as if I had gone in earlier years and that I undertake it perhaps chiefly to divert my mind from the constant brooding over the events and memories of last year.

McArthur then proceeds to list items of equipment which he hopes Bell may be able to supply, from a chronometer and sextant to such basics as tinned provisions, knapsacks and snowshoes. The letter continues:

I am not going to make forced marches or go beyond where supplies of meat, seal, deer, etc. can be got, leaving no good ground any distance behind until I find fresh life ahead. I will not winter in darkness but retrace my steps until I get far enough south to have one hour's sun at least on the 21 Dec., then start afresh with migratory animals next spring.

I do not want the matter talked of and if you have to mention it in order to obtain anything I would prefer you should only speak of it as an expedition to the Arctic coast and if possible leave my name out...

I leave on the 7th Feby., so that if you see your way to helping me, please let me know at once...

Particularly in view of the fact that this letter was written only three weeks before McArthur's intended

departure date, it betrays an almost incredible lack of preparedness and also complete naivety as to what was feasible in terms of arctic travel.

In the meantime it is clear that in the light of Baird's change of heart McArthur had also been approaching other possible sources of funding. One of these, undoubtedly influenced by Gilder's example, was the American Geographical Society. But here McArthur drew a blank; on 17 January 1887 Mr. George Hurlburt, Librarian for the Society wrote: "I am instructed to say that, with all good will, the gentlemen of the Council find it beyond their power to lend you a helping hand toward your enterprise."

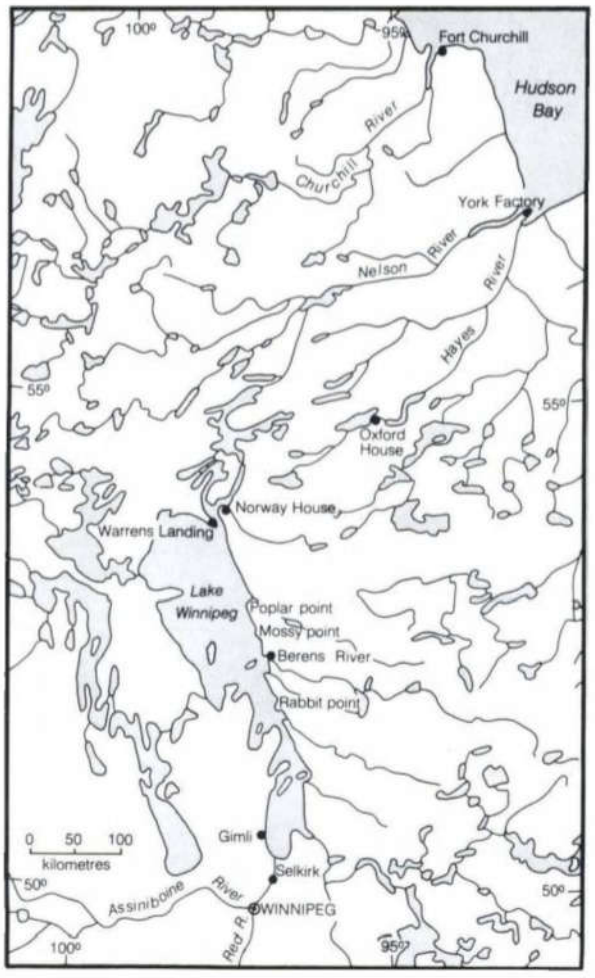
But when McArthur wrote to Donald Smith (later Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal) on 2 January, he was much more successful. Their careers had overlapped at a number of levels; thus when McArthur had been in the Montreal office of the Hudson's Bay Company, Smith had been in charge of various posts on the Labrador Coast. Later, in 1869 Smith had taken charge of the Montreal office, and thereafter he had been resident Governor and Chief Commissioner for the Company in Canada. Later he had been the Member for Winnipeg in the Manitoba Legislative Assembly and also from 1870 the federal Member for Selkirk in Ottawa. Clearly, on the basis of earlier contacts McArthur had made an impression on Smith. On 18 January, he wrote back from London: "The Secretary will write to their Commissioner in Winnipeg, Mr. Wrigley, requesting him to provide you with credit to the extent mentioned, say $500, the amount to be repaid to the Company at Winnipeg."

Pursuing Wiman's lead concerning New England whalers, on 18 January McArthur had written to Mr. Bourne of New Bedford, apparently to enquire about the chance of transport north and on the 28th got a reply from W.A. Abbe, which, however, held out little hope. There was no likelihood of the New England whalers going farther north than Hudson Bay, and it was suggested that his chances of getting to Grinnell Land (Ellesmere Island) would be better with the Scottish whalers, which went as far north as the north end of Baffin Bay. This is the first indication that McArthur had, incredibly, now set his sights on Ellesmere Island.

Meanwhile the tardy search for equipment continued. On 21 January Mr. N.A. Osgood of Battle Creek, Michigan, a maker of folding canvas boats, wrote with a detailed estimate of costs for different sizes of boats. McArthur bought one of his boats, 12 feet in length, later in the month. And on the 26th Charles Hutchinson, a Boston dealer in nautical and surveying instruments wrote to advise as to what he had available in the way of artificial horizons, chronometers etc.

Perhaps having given up hope of receiving a reply from Dr. Bell, on 24 January McArthur turned to Bell's arch-rival at the Geological and Natural History Survey and arguably the greatest scientist in Canada, Dr. George Mercer Dawson. Dawson's reply, couched in his peculiar staccato style and dated 27 January, reveals a remarkably positive response to McArthur's plans and incidentally confirms that McArthur is indeed now bound for Ellesmere Island, or perhaps to the west of it:

> In my opinion the plan you propose is quite feasible indeed is the only reasonable way of travelling in the arctic. I doubt, however, the absence of the rough ice which Nares' expedition called paleocrystic ice at any moderate distance from west coast of Ellesmere Island. Ice of the same character was observed & specifically noted (by Belcher if I remember aright) as soon as he got to outskirts of Polar Sea at north end of Wellington Channel. You speak of keeping up with the musk ox in its migration & this leads me to say that I understand it to be Lt. Greely's observation the musk oxen of interior of Grinnell Land remain all



winter. He so states in his lately published volume "3 Years of Arctic Service."

However these are minor points. Respecting assistance by loan of instruments etc. we might do something in that direction if assured that the other items necessary for your expedition will be forthcoming. We have, however, neither canvas canoe nor chronometer, but possibly all necessary could be obtained from one department or other if only Sir John Macdonald consents to aid your enterprise.

The closing sentence of Dawson's letter reveals that either McArthur, or Dawson on his behalf, had even approached the Prime Minister, but there is no indication that this approach produced any positive result.

McArthur now finally received a reply from Dawson's arch-rival, Dr. Bell, written on the 31st. He reported that he had written on McArthur's behalf to Captain Andrew Gordon (leader of the expeditions to Hudson Strait and Bay in 1884-86), "begging him to furnish some of the articles you require." McArthur's peculiar desire to remain incognito is hampering Bell's efforts, however:

I am also trying around Ottawa for similar report, but as I am not at liberty to mention your name and satisfy the curiosity of those who might be expected to become interested it is uphill work.

After a page of practical advice on the relative merits of beef extract ("...but would not go far to feed hungry men"), and pemmican ("...what better preparation can you have than pemmican?"), Bell justifiably adopts quite a censorious (though still quite patient) tone concerning McArthur's preparations and attitude; not surprisingly he wonders why he had not taken care of such essentials as maps and instruments long before.

After responding to McArthur's question about specimens of muskoxen and caribou, Bell pulls no punches in the closing remarks of his letter:

If you persist in starting I wish you success and safe return. You seem rather indifferent about risking your life. Still you should pay constant attention to the instinct of self preservation — why go at all? You might as well suicide nearer home, if science is not to have any benefit from your entreprise.

Writing again the following day (1 February) Bell reported some minor success, namely a promise of thermometers from Captain Gordon and further overtures to contacts at the Department of Interior, despite the handicap of McArthur's insistence on anonymity: "I am always asked who my friend is and as no one sees sufficient reason for secrecy this stands in the way of getting anything."

It was also at about this time that McArthur received a letter from his prospective field assistant, W.H. Young who, throughout, remains a shadowy, enigmatic figure. He reported his arrival in Brandon (apparently from Souris) noting that he had been delayed there by a blizzard which had halted both the train and the mail stage. From his postscript it would appear that McArthur had contemplated taking a third man:

P.S. If you have not got, or find any difficulty in getting another white man to go, my brother would go; same height as myself, good shot, been out here 4 years; has just returned from a shooting & trapping tour.

McArthur's approach to Dr. Dawson in parallel with his contacts with Dr. Bell now began to pay off handsomely. Writing on 4 February Dawson informed him that he had ordered nautical almanacs for him. In addition he was able to relay the good news that Dr. Alfred Selwyn, Director of the Geological and Natural History Survey, had agreed to provide a box sextant and an artificial horizon. The contrast with the discouraging and censorious tone of Bell's recent letters must have boosted McArthur's morale enormously.

Dawson wrote again on the 6th with advice on the use of the sextant and other helpful hints. Appended to this letter is a memorandum concerning useful geographical and geological observations which McArthur might make, plus much helpful advice as to where he might or might not expect to encounter Inuit and whalers along his route.

Writing again on the 7th Dawson sent the welcome news that he had shipped a chronometer and prismatic compass in addition to the instruments sent earlier. Even more welcome, no doubt, was the news that he had telegraphed a sum of $200 to support McArthur's expedition:

"and we hope to be repaid, in so far as this survey is concerned, by collections or observations which you may make. Geol. observations on the area pointed out in my memo. will be specially useful. Any objects collected if sent to us by whaler or otherwise, properly addressed, we will be responsible for freight on, on arrival..."

It was at about this time, *i.e.* on the eve of his departure, that McArthur decided to make public his plans for his expedition and invited a reporter from the *Manitoba Daily Free Press* for an interview in his rooms in the Mackenzie Hotel, although he first extracted a promise "that it would not be published until he was well on his way to the North Pole."

McArthur told the reporter that he had planned to leave three months earlier but that his preparations had been delayed by Baird's "breaking faith with him," forcing him to turn to the Geological Survey for support — with much greater success, as we have seen.

As reported in the *Manitoba Daily Free Press* McArthur's planned route lay via Norway House and

Special Collections, Dartmouth College, Hanover NH

Dog sledges on the trail near Lake Winnipeg, a photograph by Colonel W.H. Gilder, 1887.

Fort Churchill to Chesterfield Inlet; there he hoped to make rendezvous with a whaling vessel, to the captain of which he carried letters of introduction from the owners in New Bedford. Heading north again (presumably in the fall of 1887) he hoped to visit King William Island, Boothia Peninsula and the Magnetic Pole, Somerset Island and Devon Island. From there his proposed route lay northwards, about 500 km west of the Nares Strait route since "further west there is an open sea permitting the icebergs to drift away to the southwards and here Mr. McArthur expects to find comparatively smooth ice, over which he hopes to travel to the Pole with comparative ease."

One might be tempted to ascribe some portion of this far-fetched plan to the distortions resulting from poor reporting were it not that it matches so closely what one has already managed to extract from McArthur's correspondence.

For the details of McArthur's and Young's journey north we are dependent on McArthur's two small diaries, practically illegible, which are preserved in the Public Archives of Manitoba. The two men set off by horse-drawn sleigh on the evening of 13 February 1887. Traveling all night they stopped at Bird's Hill: since there were no horses for hire there, Young was sent on to Selkirk to get some. In his absence McArthur wrote to Bella, his sister, conveying some deeds and asking her to contact a whaler (presumably Bourne or Abbe) to have him arrange delivery of tobacco, powder, shot etc. for him to Barrow Strait.

The party reached Lake Winnipeg early in the evening of the 15th and by the following evening were camped in the woods near Gimli. By the following evening they had reached White Mud and by the evening of the 18th, Drake's Saw Mill. The evening of the 19th found them at the Hudson's Bay Company's store at Dog Head; here McArthur was greatly entertained by chatting to a 94-year-old man, named Muir, who was hale and hearty, over 1.8 m. tall, and remembered hearing the news of the Battle of Waterloo; "best preserved old man I ever saw here," was McArthur's comment.

Getting under way again next morning the party crossed to Rabbit Point on the east shore of Lake Winnipeg. At this point McArthur switched to toboggans hauled by dog teams He set off northward with two teams at 4.00 p.m., but for some reason one of them turned back after dark when only 10 km out and McArthur was also forced to return to Rabbit Point. For a while his driver lost his way and only managed to find the trail again by striking matches. They got back to Rabbit Point, tired but safe, at 9.45 p.m.

Hiring a third team and driver McArthur set off again on the morning of the 21st. That day the party passed

Flour Point and Pigeon Point and at 11.00 p.m. reached the cabin of a man called Mackay, across the Berens River from the Hudson's Bay Company post at 8.30 p.m. It must have been a cosy night: "Mackay, wife, 2 sons & 1 daughter, 3 Indians and us 2 men in a 14 feet square one room." Next morning the party crossed the river to the Hudson's Bay Company's post where McArthur was warmly welcomed by Mr. A.A. MacDonald. Since there was a blizzard blowing, the party was forced to remain here as guests of the MacDonalds for two nights. MacDonald made a very good impression: "Very good and relieving me and Y. of much bother. Hospitality and everything done quietly and [in] a gentleman-like fashion."

On the morning of the 24th the weather was bright and clear, with a temperature of -24°F. Half way to Mossy Point an important chance meeting occurred:

> Met E. McDonald, factor Norway House, Angus McKay, Indian agent B(erens) River, & Col. Gilder aftn., 1/2 way to Mossy Point. Gilder said could get no Esquimaux at Churchill. Meant to come back in open water or go by whaler. Looked cold in his Eskimo dress. Left Griffith behind.

Gilder had spent the early part of the winter at York Factory, and had started north in January. He had turned back only a few tens of kilometres north of the Nelson estuary and was now on his way back to Winnipeg. Since McArthur's own plans relied so heavily on assistance from the Inuit for travelling north from Churchill, Gilder's report that he had found no Inuit there must have thrown McArthur's plans into confusion. That night he and his party camped at Mossy Point.

On the 25th the first complaints about Young's performance appeared in McArthur's journal: "Young driving badly, walking dogs all way, upsetting often, rough ice." By the end of the day he was "played out." That night the party camped at Big Stone and covered the remaining 13 km to the Hudson's Bay Company's post at Poplar River next morning (26th). Although the factor, Mr. Aitken, was away, McArthur and party were offered the use of an empty hut, and were invited to take their meals at the post. Young arrived half an hour after McArthur, on foot and without his dogs, which had preceded him, minus the sledge.

Aitken returned at noon on the 27th and strongly urged McArthur to stay another night because of the bad weather. Two men were hired (at one shilling each) to go back to recover Young's toboggan, and a man was engaged to drive Young's team from here on. McArthur "told Y. I would give him 2 days to see if he was willing to learn."

The party got under way again at 7.45 next morning with Young walking. After two more camps, opposite Spider Island and at Playgreen Lake, they reached Norway House at 7.30 p.m. on 3 March. The Hudson's Bay Company factor, Mr. E. MacDonald (who had presumably passed them on the trail) gave them a particularly friendly welcome; McArthur appears to have been especially taken with the seven of his nine children who were still at home. He also seems to have been quite thankful that the stormy weather gave him an excuse to stay over on the 4th: "Feet swollen; hands cut; rest very grateful."

Next day McArthur made arrangements to hire a team from MacDonald in order to continue to Oxford House, having first coped with Young's resignation, a development which McArthur probably accepted with mixed feelings: "Told him serious nature of his desertion & asked him to put in writing what his reasons were."

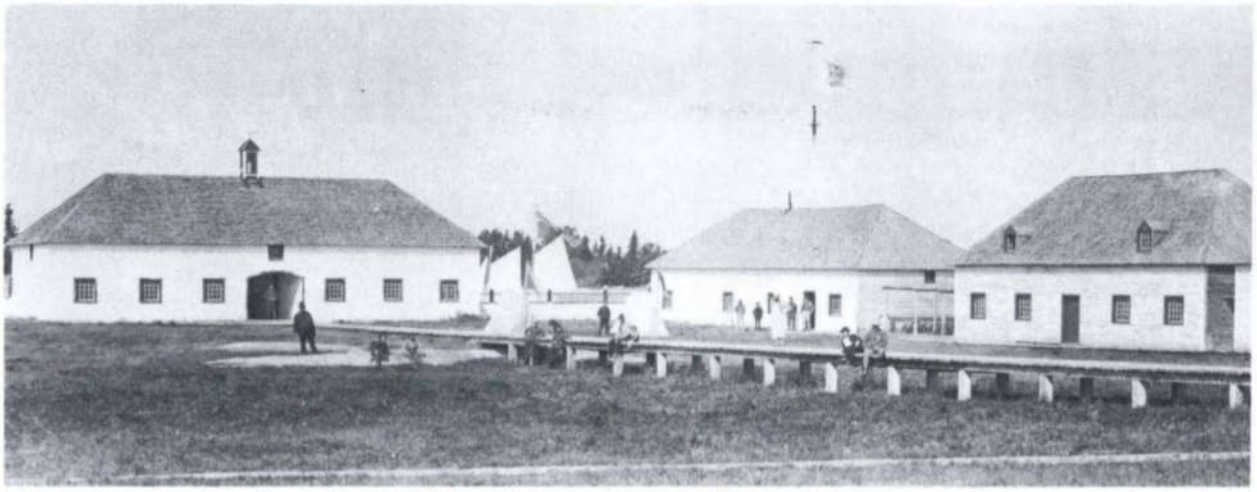
In fact it is not entirely clear whether Young resigned or was fired. Among McArthur's papers is a series of intriguing documents, written in pencil in McArthur's handwriting, which appear to be successive drafts of a letter of dismissal. One begins:

> To Young Esq.,
> Sir,
>
> Your complete failure to fulfil the duties required of you on my present expedition compelled me to tell you yest[erda]y that yr. services were dispensed with.

Another starts:

> Sir,
>
> You have made it apparent that you are either not qualified to undergo the fatigue incident upon such a journey as I have begun or are unwilling to attempt it and I indicated yesterday that your connection with it would cease here.

Among the list of shortcomings of which McArthur accuses him are his incompetence to look after the baggage on the trail; his inability to walk more than 13 or 19 km per day or to drive a dog team, even at a slow pace; and his lack of skill as a hunter or cook. Worst of all: "at the campfire you were worse than useless, annoying the men by waiting doing nothing, standing in their way and never making yourself useful or agreeable." He had also been very difficult to rouse in the mornings. In short he had been a "constant drag whose sullen silence and look of dejection had cast a damper on the expedition." Elsewhere McArthur is more specific about the losses resulting from Young's carelessness: half a chest of tea, 2 litres of methylated spirits and a bag of shot were among the items lost from the toboggans due to his careless packing, while pork and beans had been eaten by the dogs because he had not secured them properly at night. There is no indication of whether Young was ever presented with a final draft of these letters of dismissal, but if even half of McArthur's complaints are based on fact it is clear that



Geological Survey of Canada

The Hudson's Bay Company post at Norway House, 1890.

Young must have tried his patience greatly and certainly was no help.

On Monday 7 March Young started back south with William Berens while McArthur made arrangements to continue north; he hired a team and driver for the trip to Oxford House and bought sugar, hardtack, bannock and venison. At this point the more legible of McArthur's diaries comes to an end, and from here on one has to rely on the entries in his rough diary, which are very cryptic and practically undecipherable.

McArthur set off from Norway House at 11.30 a.m. on 8 March but turned back that same day. For over a week he was weatherbound at Norway House, clearly very dispirited. On several days the entry "Low spirits" appears in his diary. Finally at 10.45 on 17 March he started back south. By the evening of the 19th he had reached Poplar Point, by the 23rd Dog Head and by the 16th Gimli.

He was back home in Winnipeg by the morning of Wednesday March 30. In an interview with a reporter from the *Manitoba Daily Free Press* he gave as his reason for turning back the fact that he had heard that the Inuit no longer came south to Churchill and that hence he would simply have found himself kicking his heels at Churchill for the remainder of the winter. He stated that he had not abandoned the project but would shortly be attempting an alternative route. He denied that he was hoping to reach the Pole; rather he wanted

> to pass a winter on the Arctic coast for the purpose of collecting ornithological specimens and prosecuting natural history studies, and secondly, if the conditions were favourable, of adding something to the geographical knowledge of the world by exploring the west coast of Grinnell Land which is as yet unknown country.

Whatever McArthur's plans may have been for attempting an alternate route to the Arctic, they were not destined to come to fruition. He died in his room in the Grand Union Hotel around noon on 21 August 1887 after a brief illness. The funeral was held from his brother Duncan's house on the 23rd, and he was buried in St. John's Cemetery.

Clearly McArthur's "expedition" would not rate even a passing mention in any chronology of arctic exploring expeditions. Its importance lies in what it demonstrates with regard to what a determined person, admittedly with a few important contacts, could achieve in terms of mounting a field expedition in the late nineteenth century if he put his mind to it. To have persuaded Donald Smith to arrange a letter of credit of $500 on the Hudson's Bay Company and to have negotiated a subsidy of $200 and the loan of instruments from the Geological Survey, through the good offices of Dr. George Dawson were no mean feats. Nonetheless the most charitable possible interpretation of the execution of McArthur's project is that it was a forlorn hope. The closing remarks of the biographical sketch in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* are very apt: "His scheme for exploring in the Arctic was also short-sighted in both its planning and its execution. His ability was not always equal to his imagination." On balance it was probably just as well that he did not penetrate farther north, beyond the reach of the Hudson's Bay Company's network, since had he done so he would probably have died sooner and considerably more unpleasantly than he did. ◆

William Barr is Professor of Geography at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, and a frequent contributor to "The Beaver" on arctic topics.

FAREWELL TO OLD IRELAND

The Voyage of The 'John Barry'

By Carol Bennett McCuaig

In the spring of 1825, nine ships lay at anchor in the Cove of Cork, Ireland. These ships, the *Fortitude, Resolution, Albion, Brunswick, Star, Amity, Regulus, Elizabeth* and *John Barry* were bound for Quebec, carrying on board more than two thousand Irish emigrants, whose destination was Upper Canada.

These were no ordinary passengers. They represented hand-picked families, travelling to this country as part of a sponsored emigration scheme. Everything possible was being done to ensure their health and safety and this included sending a surgeon with each ship.

Mr. William Burnie, a Scot, was the surgeon assigned to the ship *John Barry.* (British surgeons do not use the title of doctor.) He had graduated from the University of Edinburgh medical school seven years previously.

Once on board, Mr. Burnie began a journal which was to cover the two-month voyage. He noted the 2,024 emigrants had embarked at Cork and later he observed that 1,995 people arrived at Lachine. Considering the fact that a number of infants were born during the voyage, it is probable that there were more deaths than the 29 indicated by these figures.

Following the end of the Napoleonic wars in Europe there was an economic depression which caused hardship among the working classes throughout the British Isles. The price of farm produce fell disastrously. Tenants who were unable to pay their rent were evicted from their homes. Conditions were even more difficult in Ireland, where a failure of the potato crop in 1821 caused widespread distress among the poor.

Meanwhile, in the aftermath of the War of 1812-1814 between Canada and the United States it was feared that Canada might again be invaded by her neighbours. Garrisons were maintained for several years but this was an expensive proposition, so the British government decided to increase the population of Upper Canada with settlers who would be prepared to swear allegiance to the Crown and who would form the nucleus of a militia to be called upon in times of crisis.

By sending out impoverished families and settling them here, the government saw the means of alleviating two problems at the same time. Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, Britain's Under Secretary for Colonial Affairs, wrote to John Beverley Robinson, Attorney-General for Upper Canada, directing him to find a suitable person to oversee the experiment. This had to be a Canadian because he was to find land on which the emigrants could settle and to assist them in getting established.

John chose his elder brother, Peter, a veteran of the 1812 war, who was a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, representing York. The pair travelled to England to meet with officials there, after which Peter Robinson journeyed to the south of Ireland to recruit prospective settlers. A number of magistrates and land owners agreed to act as agents, receiving applications and making recommendations which would help in the final selection. Only people of good character were to be accepted, but there is some evidence that the magistrates included a few trouble-makers, seizing the chance to get rid of them. A few "respectable persons" were also to be included, "as an example to the rest."

At first the people were wary, asking questions about wild animals and hostile Indians. They were won over when they learned that the government would pay for their passage and would provide them with rations for a year. Each adult male would receive 70 acres of land, to which another 30 would be added if settlement duties were completed within ten years, and a fee of £10 sterling paid. This proved irresistible to people who had subsisted on a few acres of rented land.

The first wave of settlers left for Canada in 1823. They received land in the Ottawa Valley. Five hundred and thirty eight people travelled in two ships; more than 5,000 people had applied to come. The fact that only nine people died en route was seen as a matter for con-

gratulation, attributed to the fact that two surgeons had accompanied the party.

Now, in 1825, a second group was about to leave. Surgeon William Burnie boarded the *John Barry* before the emigrants began to arrive. He would be totally responsible for his group of 253 people. All matters of health and sanitation, the allocation of rations, the maintenance of law and order and the physical safety of the passengers came under his jurisdiction. He was also required to write out, at the end of the voyage, a character assessment of each man, to be compared with the two references from magistrates and clergy, that they had obtained in Ireland.

His first days on board were spent in "washing out the quarters" and checking supplies. Hot vinegar was the only disinfectant at his disposal.

Remarks for Wednesday, 11 May, 1825:
At 7 a.m. came alongside two boats with potatoes for the settlers. At 8 I sent away the potato boats not unloaded owing to the heavy rain.

Remarks for Thursday, 12 May:
Potato boats came alongside and were unloaded. The two delivered eleven tons.

The ships rode at anchor in the Cove for ten days. Passengers arrived at intervals, ferried out by the City of Cork steam vessel. During this period, those who were already on board began to experience two discomforts which were to plague them throughout the crossing, namely, sea sickness and inadequate sanitary facilities.

"Water closet most filthy!" noted Burnie in disgust. "From this time each [head of] family to take his turn in cleaning it, under a penalty of losing his grog for a week."

On the 21st of May, Peter Robinson came on board and inspected the emigrants. Once again there had been far more applicants than could be accepted and there was a strict rule that if people decided not to sail, their tickets had to be given to those at the head of the waiting list. However, in many cases tickets were passed to friends who assumed the identity of the rightful owners for the duration. On the *Brunswick* the John O'Grady family travelled in place of some different O'Gradys, and their son John, masquerading as a daughter of the original family, had to be disguised as a girl, answering to the name of Johanna.

Similar masquerades took place on the *John Barry*. "One family, Hagerty, of three persons, sent on shore," wrote Burnie. "Hagerty had passed a daughter and son of Young's as his wife and child."

The Youngs were one of the "respectable families" recommended for passage. Francis Young, a widower, was an engineer from Newport, Tipperary, travelling with his two daughters and seven sons. Born into a Protestant family, he had converted to Roman Catholicism when a young man and was disinherited, under the terms of the Penal Code. His wife, Lady Elizabeth Blackall, also became a convert and was disinherited by her parents.

Sunday, 22nd May, 1825:
At one p.m. got under weigh and came down the harbour. At 2.30 Mr. Robinson and a Mr. Callaghan visited and inspected the emigrants and families for the last time.

This Callaghan had arrived at Robinson's lodgings the previous night, bringing a letter from his parish priest which stated:

The bearer, David Callaghan of Mallow, a mason by trade, leaves town today in quest of his son Jeremiah, being apprenticed by him and wants two years of his father's service. Young Callaghan eloped last night with the intention of going to Canada, his intention being to slip in if possible with some family who are about to emigrate.

You will do this poor man a favour by not granting passage to his undutiful and disobedient son. His sudden disappearance has plunged a poor industrious family into extreme distress and agony of mind.

I learn that the son of the bearer has purchased a ticket of some other Callaghan for one pound, and will impersonate his namesake.

There were two Callaghan families on board the *John Barry*, but Mr. Burnie's journal makes no reference to the outcome of this story. He was too busy ransacking the ship in search of possessions reported stolen by one of the passengers. When he failed to find them he went about his medical duties, noting that "The children vaccinated on the 17th show no indications of producing a regular pock."

"At 4 p.m. there came on board David Nagle as emigrant. He had been convicted of Whiteboyism and sentenced to death, but pardoned, turning King's witness, and orders were sent to Mr. Robinson by Earl Bathurst to take him to Canada as a settler."

The Whiteboys were a secret society which operated outside the law to redress wrongs done by landlords to

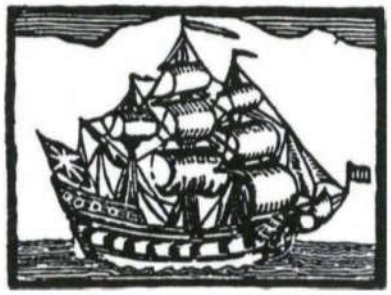
labourers and tenant farmers. Burnie may have misunderstood the situation because other documents show that Nagle, a rent collector, was actually fleeing from the Whiteboys, "being in danger of his life," having given evidence against them.

Two days later, Nagle was allowed to go on shore to be married: "His wife by order of Mr. Robinson to be received and victualled on board."

The *John Barry* sailed out of Cork harbour on 25 May. Burnie was soon writing in his journal that "Some women are tipsy, a cure for sea sickness."

He quickly established a routine, whereby the men scrubbed the decks and "All the women washed clothes and hung them on proper lines."

The meals soon became a problem. Considering the fact that the catering had involved taking on supplies



for a two-month voyage, and that no refrigeration was available, the food was surprisingly varied. However, some items were unknown to the settlers, who threw the cheese and plum cake overboard, complaining that they were being poisoned.

Cocoa, a delicacy served in English chocolate houses, was provided for the men, who rejected it. They preferred tea, which was only doled out to the women. Several of the men disguised themselves in female clothing in order to get tea for themselves when rations were given out.

The passengers were divided into "messes" of six persons and rations for that number were given to each group. Some of the more responsible passengers were assigned to "divide the provisions." Salt meat was allotted to each mess but had to be cooked in a communal pot. Burnie noted in his journal that:

June 8th, 1825:
At 1 p.m. dinner people wrangling with the cook. They say he boils their provisions too much for the sake of the liquid. He denies it, but says they put it in so irregularly that some of it will be overdone. He threatens giving up the cooking. I settled the dispute by allowing every one to take out his meat when he likes.

June 12th:
I upped the allowance of potatoes and reduced the bread as the potatoes appear to be spoiling.

Even this diet was barely tolerated as sickness became a problem: "People crying out for oatmeal to make gruel. They cannot eat the biscuit nor take the tea. Mrs. Slattery faint from hunger through the indolence of her husband. I got her oatmeal for breakfast."

The Atlantic crossing caused great hardship. As the weather worsened, the male passengers were obliged to take their turn at pumping out the ship several times a day. A number of passengers developed fever.

June 8th:
At 11 p.m. I was called to Mr. Sullivan's wife in labour." This turned out to be a "third month miscarriage". [Several other women subsequently miscarried. A ten-day period towards the end of the month called all of Mr. Burnie's medical skills into play].

June 17th:
Called to Mrs. Callaghan at 10 p.m. At twelve, a daughter.

June 19th:
Made the Isle of Newfoundland.

June 20th:
Mrs. Regan has symptom of approaching parturition, having nothing prepared for this child. Supplied her with calico and flannel for two changes of dress.

June 22nd:
Mrs. Regan brought forth a daughter in the seventh month. James Slattery slipped and fell down on the deck and fractured the right clavicle close to its scapulus extremity.

June 27th:
At midnight departed this life Dennis Shea, aged 17 months, 9 days.

Sanitary conditions deteriorated. The latrines were so inadequate that people took to creeping up on deck to relieve themselves at night. Burnie was quick to seize an opportunity. A certain man "Was detected taking another man's flour ration and punished after being found guilty by twelve of his peers." The man was assigned to latrine duty for two days. His heavily pregnant wife was said to be "much affected".

A week later Burnie approached this same man and "Bargained with him for a dollar to keep it clean throughout the voyage, the ship to allow him a glass of grog twice a week."

Throughout the voyage a feeling of deep suspicion prevailed among the passengers, many of whom believed that they were being got rid of by the British authorities. Some were convinced that they would not reach their destination alive.

June 12th:
Heavy gales and thick with rain. People between

decks, some praying, some crying out murder, some swearing. A few believe the sailors to be getting out boats and to leave them.

These few were to cause distress to Burnie a few days later, when disaster struck the ship.

Wednesday, 29th June 1825:
Moderate winds and thick with rain. At 4.30 a.m. was told the ship was on shore on Point Betsiamites. Almost calm. No swell. People quiet. Ebbing tide about half way. One wedge was got out but failed to heave the ship off. Anchors coming loose. Ship lay broadside on a sandy beach. Waited for next tide. Meantime got out another wedge, anchor and cable. Ship lay very quiet. People in terror, but after much trouble persuaded them there was no danger.

11 a.m.: tide flowing with light breeze. 12 a.m.: strong breeze. Ship in some motion, lying broadside on, and straining heavily.

Big strong gales with a heavy sea, beating against and flying over the ship at 4 p.m. fore and aft. People below in great terror.

Hoisted the longboats and got the small anchor and chain cable into the long boat. At 8 p.m. got the anchor laid out. Tide flowing fast and breaking over the ship at times. Many of the emigrants volunteered to assist and to stop up all night to heave her off. Several grumbling and frightening the women with tales of distress. About 26 men stopped up all night and worked the most of next day.

Stove two rum casks. People broke open the main hold and got much of their baggage on the ship's deck after discovering water in the hold.

Thursday, 30th June:
At 1 a.m. began to heave the ship off. Emigrants assisting at the capstan and hauling ropes. At 1.30 discovered six feet of water in the hold. Set both pumps to work, emigrants pumping. At 3, cut from the large wedge.

At 5 hove the ship off and wedged her to 14 feet of water. At 6, both pumps at work with ship's crew and emigrants. Gained on the water in the hold three feet in 24 hours. At noon a strong breeze; in good prospect of clearing the ship of water.

At three the infant child of Martin O'Brien died and was buried on shore. Part of the emigrants desirous of being landed, as they say, from the clamour of their wives. Several very refractory and threatening to destroy the pumps. Forming plots below, and openly tell me that they think it our intention to get into boats and leave them, although I have told them many a time I will muster them myself by families into the boats and with the captain will be the last person to leave the ship.

At 8 p.m. Tim Ryan and John Ryan (brothers of the dead infant) forcibly endeavoured to stop the people from the pumps, the latter with a hand spike in his hand threatening to strike anyone who touched the pump. Took it out of his hand and sent him below.

John Ryan ran below and cried the ship was sinking and all hands would be drowned, which caused great terror among the women and three fainted and it brought severe menorrhagia [Excessive menstrual flow] on Mrs. Condon. Fainted Ellen Foley, too.

Friday 1st July, 1825:
Crew and part of the emigrants working both pumps. At four, two feet of water in the hold. Four of the women wrought all night at the pumps. Fifteen ordered breakfast with intention of landing ashore. Emigrants refractory. The Master for preservation of ship and stores promised 30 men one dollar per day to work the pumps to Quebec.

People preparing to go on shore. So horrified by their cries and threats that I polled the sentiments of each head of family whether he wished to go on shore, or trust in the officers. Twelve wish to be put on shore unconditionally. The remainder trust to the officers and obey.

Eight of the twelve families insisted on being put on shore, which the Master and myself quieted by resolving to move the ship to the Government Post further up and land the people. John Kelly, pilot, came on board. 18 inches of water in the hold. Weighed and made sail to the westward. When we started out to the River [St. Lawrence] the people became more contented.

Saturday 2nd July:
People generally comforted. Some of the old hands still plotting and I now learn the intention of several was to get on shore and desert their engagement with government, several having procured or bought false tickets.

Monday 4th July:
At 2 weighed from River Loup and drove up with flood tide.

Tuesday July 5th:
At 5 passed Goose Island. Took the ground off Quail

Point at low water and came off at first of the flood. At 10, abreast Madame Island.

Wednesday July 6th:

Procured four fowls and two dozen eggs from the shore for the sick. At midnight came to about one mile below Quebec.

On July 7 the ship docked at Quebec and was boarded by the Harbour Master. Burnie went on shore and "Procured an order from Commissariat Office to be received on board the Steam Packet for passage to Montreal. Allowed several heads of families to go on shore to procure necessities.

"Considered Timothy Regan unfit to proceed on the

passage and procured an order from the Commissariat Office to have him and family, seven persons, sent to the Emigrant Hospital. Sent with him six days' provisions. At 8 a.m. landed him and family."

Friday 8th July:

At 6 a.m. came alongside the steam boat, *Swiftsure,* handed over the people's luggage and sent themselves on board, without any accident. Weather very hot and close, 85 to 88 degrees. At 8 a.m. made sail. Several of the children very unwell: Slattery's two, Hannah Twomey and Dennis Mahony. At 12 served out the beef and pork and found only one day's allowance of each instead of two of pork and one of beef.

Passing up the River, which appears thickly peopled. Had the utmost difficulty in procuring a berth for the sick in the Steerage, which contains only 33 beds and was then occupied by 15 people, Raftsmen and other Emigrants. Most of the people slept on deck. At 10 passed the town of Three Rivers and at 12 St. Peter's Lake."

By the following day, a number of people were suffering from fever and exposure. On Sunday the group landed at Lachine, where Mr. Burnie "Got all the people into a large store, together with their luggage. It has six double doors and is very airy. Found at this place Surgeon Powers of the *Elizabeth* — many of their children sick with the hooping cough." [*sic*]

The following day the emigrants of one of the other ships arrived in eight batteaux. "I consider his people more unruly than mine," Burnie noted with satisfaction.

Wednesday, 13th July:

Several of the men asked leave to hire with the different farmers in the neighbourhood, it being the haying season. Granted.

Thursday 14th July:

A child of Slattery's, a year old, was seized with stertorous breathing. Placed it in a warm bath thrice; it has a short, dry cough. Bled Dunhill, Carey and Regan, also Samuel Young. About Midnight died Slattery's child. Procured wood for a coffin and gave a sheet to wrap it in.

Went to Upper La Chine in a market cart to see McGeoch. Old man 77, whiteheaded, well acquainted with my father. Very talkative and recollects all about Galloway. Got bread and cheese with butter, and bumpers of brandy.

Saturday 16th July:

Arrived Mrs. Regan and family, her husband having died at Quebec the day after landing. His widow has suffered much from the fatigue of the passage. Young Dunhill crying with pain of his belly.

Sunday 17th July:

Dunhill very ill. Parents see he cannot live till morning and will not allow me to put a blister on his abdomen.

Monday 18th July:

I requested Mr. Finlay to detain the boats a few days on account of the sick, but he would not. Demanded another boat, but he would not grant it.

Tuesday 19th July:

Mrs. Regan dying. Sent for a priest. Got the people into boats. Mrs. Owens and sons would not get into the boat and went away to Montreal, saying she would go home with her sons. Casey, too, is obstinate. An extra trunk being put into the boat, he said he would be damned if he went into it. Collared him and put him in. He swore he would not pull (the oars) so I told him to sit idle.

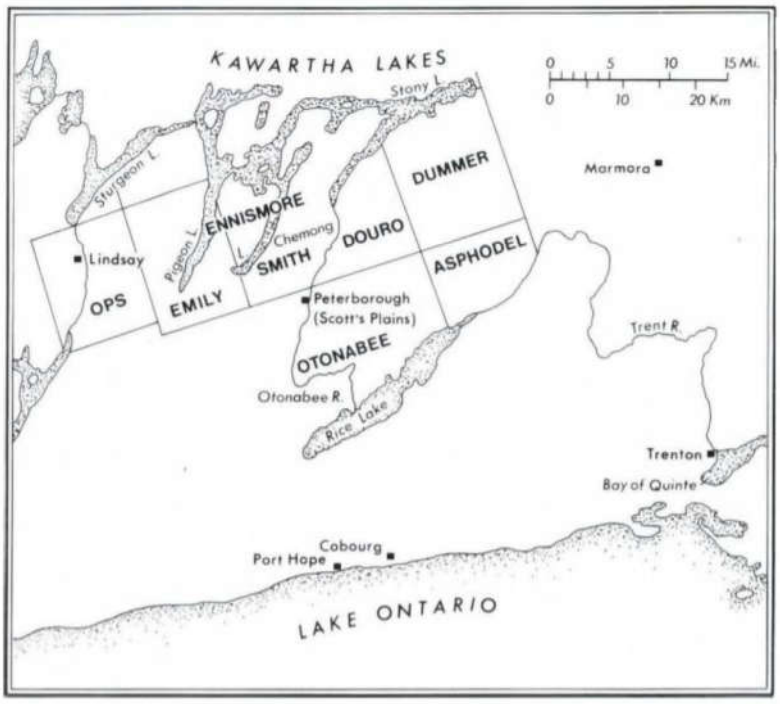
At 5.30 a violent thunderstorm with heavy rain and lightning. Dreadfully wet and uncomfortable. I got the people into a hay loft for the night.

Wednesday 20th July:

At 8 died a child of James Mahoney, four months old. We reached The Cedars where we buried the child in the churchyard. Indians very troublesome, wanting money to drink. Others tossing the luggage about and squabbling with the people.

Thursday, 21st July, 1825:

Morning fine and cooler. At 4.30 a.m. embarked and proceeded up the river. Put some baggage out of Blackwell's boat into Regan's. When Tim and John left the boat and refused to help, saying they would



be damned first, let them go and they walked till we stopped for breakfast at the mouth of the lake. Tim got in and John walked on. At 12.30 proceeded up the lake with the oars. Stopped at 4 and camped for the night. People lodged in a large barn. Some remaining in the boats.

William Burnie's journal ends abruptly at this point. His attention was given instead to the writing of a report, describing his impression of the people in his charge, which was later submitted to Peter Robinson.

Some of the passengers from the nine ships, including David Nagle, travelled to the Ottawa Valley, to join friends who had come out in 1823. The rest proceeded to Kingston, where they camped for two weeks while awaiting the arrival of Peter Robinson, who had travelled from Ireland via the United States.

Burnie recorded the fact that the baby daughter of the deceased Timothy and Catherine Regan "Died, and was buried at Kingston. Two boys and two girls — very fine children — are left orphans. I left eight dollars for them in Mr. Reade's charge. Their chest, by some mistake, has been left at Quebec."

Robinson escorted the settlers to the townships surrounding Peterborough, Ontario, which was named in his honour. Some of the settlers contracted fever and ague during their overland trip and did not live to see their families prosper.

Others did well in the new land. Francis Young established a grist mill and a saw mill; later a grandson established the Stoney Lake Navigation Company, a steamboat company which opened up the Kawarthas to tourism. These boats travelled the lake for sixty-two years. Their gentle progress was a far cry from the voyage of the ship *John Barry.* ◆

Writer Carol Bennett McCuaig lives at Renfrew, Ontario.

HOCKEY'S FIRST GOLDEN AGE

Kings of the Ice

By James M. Whalen

On 18 March 1892, at the end of a hard-fought hockey season, the Ottawa Athletic Association held a banquet in Ottawa to honour the Ottawa Hockey Team, champions of the Ontario Hockey Association. On that occasion, Lord Kilcoursie, *aide-de-camp* to the Governor General of Canada, Lord Stanley of Preston, read a letter from His Excellency which had a profound impact on the development of hockey in Canada:

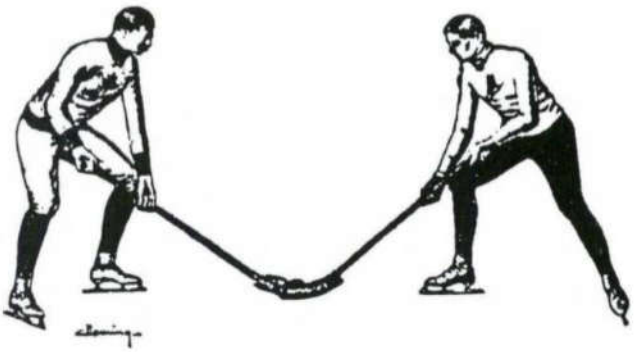
> "I have for sometime past been thinking that it would a good thing if there were a challenge cup which should be held year to year by the champion hockey team in the Dominion. There does not appear to be any such outward and visible sign of championship at present, and considering the general interest the matches now elicit, and the importance of having the game played fairly under rules generally recognized, I am willing to give a cup which shall be held from year to year by the winning team.

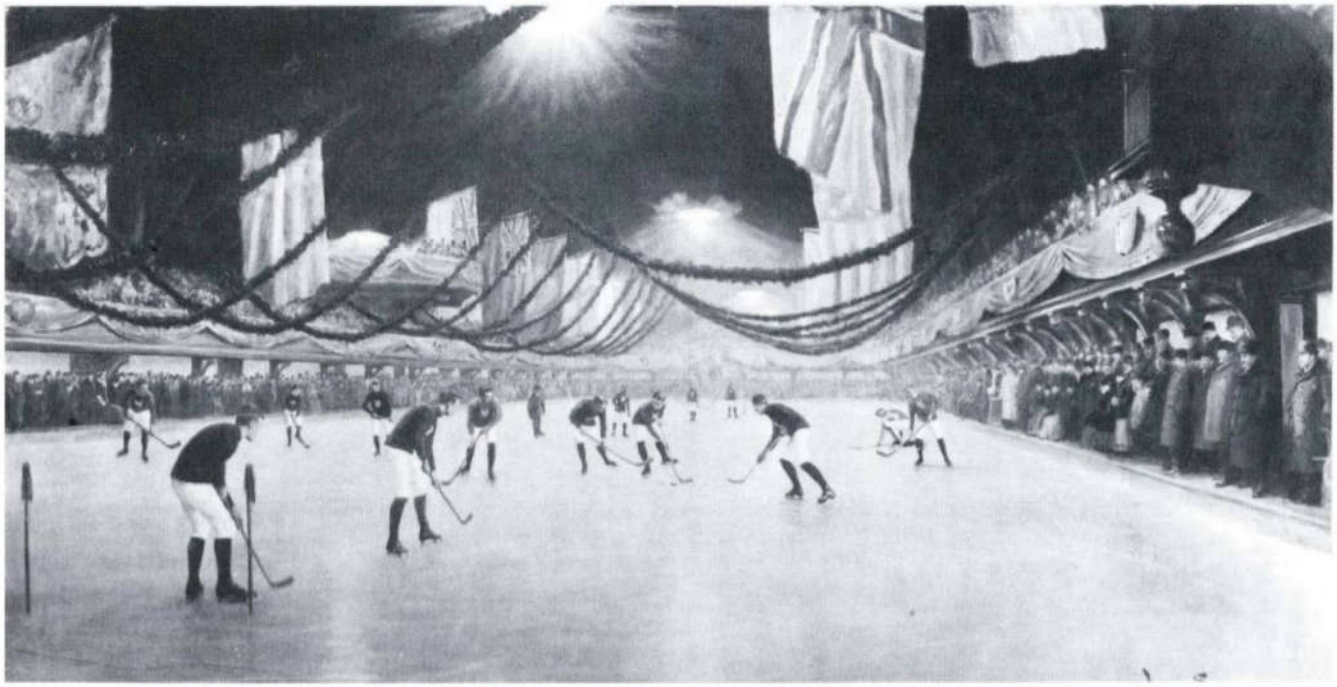
The proposal was widely accepted and, in 1893, Lord Stanley donated a silver cup to be awarded annually to the amateur hockey champions of Canada. The first winner of the Dominion Hockey Challenge Cup, soon known as the Stanley Cup, was the Montreal Hockey Club wearing the winged wheel of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association (Montreal AAA), a large and influential organization involved in a wide range of sporting activities in Montreal. Since then, the Stanley Cup has been awarded for the past one hundred years, first as an amateur trophy, and later as a professional one. The only exception in its long history came in 1919 when an epidemic of influenza curtailed play for the trophy. It was at the celebrated Montreal Winter Carnivals, and later as part of the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada (AHAC) where the Montreal AAA hockey team groomed itself to become the first Stanley Cup champions in 1893.

As to the origins of ice hockey, a report of a committee of the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association of 1942 claimed that the first game was played in Kingston in 1855 by the Royal Canadian Rifles, a British unit stationed there. However, it is generally accepted today that the 1855 game was not ice hockey, but a variation of a field game, most likely shinny. Ice hockey actually originated on 3 March 1875 when J.G.A. Creighton, a Halifax native then living in Montreal, who was both a scholar and a sportsman, organized an indoor game at the Victoria Skating Rink. At that time, two local teams, playing nine men a side, fought it out using crude sticks and a flat, circular piece of wood instead of a ball, with Creighton's line-up winning 2-1. This game was probably adapted from a field sport that Creighton had played, or had seen played, during the winter in Nova Scotia.

In fact, various stick and ball games such as "shinny", "shinty", "bandy", "hurley", — most of which were played outdoors on ice in Kingston, Halifax, and other places in North America — are considered the forerunner of ice hockey, but they bear little resemblance to the more structured sport developed on Creighton's initiative. Unlike it, they were loosely played without any set number of players and without any continuity from one game to the next.

After organizing the first game of ice hockey in 1875, Creighton played regularly in Montreal, and later in Ottawa where he became Law Clerk of the Senate. As





McCord Museum, Montreal

The Montreal Victorias play the Montreal AAAs at the Victoria Skating Rink, 1893, a composite picture created by the Notman studio.

early as 1877 he formed a hockey team in Montreal known as the Metropolitans. In the same year, Creighton and some students from McGill University, which he later attended, drafted a set of seven rules for ice hockey which were taken directly from English field hockey. These rules, enforced by a referee and two umpires (goal judges), included: the bully, the type of face-off used in field hockey; and an on-side rule which prohibited forward passing to a teammate. In addition, "charging from behind, tripping, collaring, kicking or shinning" were not allowed, but penalties for these, and other infractions such as high-sticking, were not specified. Although these rules were gradually modified, they were crucial to the development and continuance of ice hockey as a distinctive Canadian game. In reality, the originators, as the *Montreal Standard* pointed out in November 1935, incorporated elements from several field sports into the game:

> Familiar with rugby football, they recognized that many of the game's good points could be utilized in a winter sport, and the game that lent itself the most readily to their scheme was "ye-old-time" shinny. Shinny, however, could not be easily adapted to rugby rules, so they familiarized themselves with English field hockey and derived a set of rules, which combined with the best features of these two sports, with a few pointers from lacrosse, for the new game — Canadian ice hockey.

The next important step was the organization of teams to compete against each other following standard rules. During the late 1870s and early 1880s, hockey was played almost exclusively in Montreal where teams, most notably the Metropolitans, the McGill University Hockey Club and the Montreal Victorias, were organized. Such clubs, which from 1879 played seven instead of nine men a side, met infrequently as there was no regular schedule of games.

An opportunity for organized competition came about in 1883 with the advent of the Montreal Winter Carnival. The organizers included hockey, along with other sports such as snow-shoeing, skating, curling and tobogganing, in the carnival program. Hockey proved popular and it became an annual feature of this winter spectacle. In 1893, Tait Mackenzie, the famous sculptor, who was at one time a professor at McGill University, wrote:

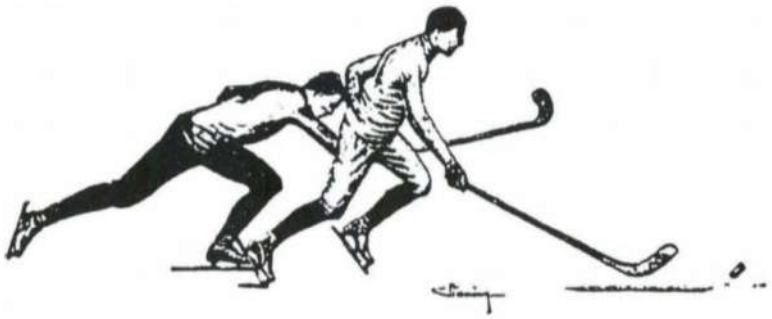
> The winter carnivals at Montreal, beginning in 1883 gave the game its first great impetus, it gained rapidly in popular estimation and, to the visitors who thronged to the city, the hockey matches in the Victoria Rink were soon among the chief attractions.

Of the three teams competing at the first winter carnival in 1883 — McGill University Hockey Team, the Montreal Victorias and the Quebec Hockey Club — McGill had the honour of winning the championship.

Starting in the early 1880s, challenges for the cham-

National Archives of Canada

The McGill University Hockey Club ready for action, 1881. Uniforms and equipment were still evolving.



The Rideau Hall Rebels, 1889. Those pictured are (standing) Captain Wingfield, Arthur Stanley, Senator L.G. Power, H.A. Ward, J. de St. D. Lemoine and (seated) Edward Stanley, J.G.A. Creighton, Captain A.H. McMahon, John A. Barron and Captain H.B. Hawkes.

Bill Fitsell Collection, Kingston

pionship of senior hockey and the winter carnival tournaments were arranged in Montreal. The annual number of participants varied but usually consisted of a team from Ottawa and Quebec City, as well as three or four Montreal clubs. As there was no artificial ice at that time, it was common for each team to play fewer than ten games a season.

The first ice hockey association in the country — the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada (AHAC) — was formed in December 1886 when representatives from the four Montreal senior hockey clubs: McGill University, the Crystals, the Victorias and the Montreal AAA; and one Ottawa club, met in the Victoria Rink in Montreal. The primary objective of the association was "to improve, foster, and perpetuate the game of hockey in Canada; protect it from professionalism, and to promote the cultivation of kindly feeling among members of hockey clubs." Although there was no representative from the Quebec team at the organizational meeting, that club was very active in senior hockey and became a mainstay of the new association.

The rules adopted by the Amateur Hockey Association of Canada (AHAC) in 1886 indicate how the game of ice hockey was then played. Although the size of the puck (one inch thick and three inches in diameter); the dimensions of the goals (four feet high and six feet wide); and the maximum allowable width of the blade of a hockey stick (three inches — this applied to all players, including the goalkeeper) are the same today as they were then, many aspects of the game are very different. For example, in 1886, the goals consisted of two upright poles marked by flags (as in lacrosse). A goal was scored when the puck went between the poles from the front side, and below an imaginary line across the top of them. As there was no crossbar or nets, it was very difficult for the umpire (goal judge) to determine whether or not the puck went in.

In keeping with the new regulations, the game was played with seven players on each side. These included: a goalkeeper, who stayed on his feet to stop the puck because he was not allowed to "lie, sit or kneel upon the ice;" two defencemen, the point and cover-point; and four forwards, made up of three attackers and a rover, who went where he was most needed. (The number of players was reduced to our present six-man game as early as 1911-12 in the National Hockey Association.) In those days, it was not unusual for the seven starters to play the whole game. No substitutes were allowed once a match got under way, except in the case of an injury.

Some of the 1886 rules, such as the bully, the process employed by the referee to put the puck in play; the on-side rule ("a player must always be on his own side of the puck"); the infractions which could result in penalties; and the regulation which allowed the puck to be stopped "but not carried or knocked on by any part of the body" had been in the rules since 1877. Modifications to the regulations came gradually and several of those prevailing in 1886 governed the game for many years thereafter.

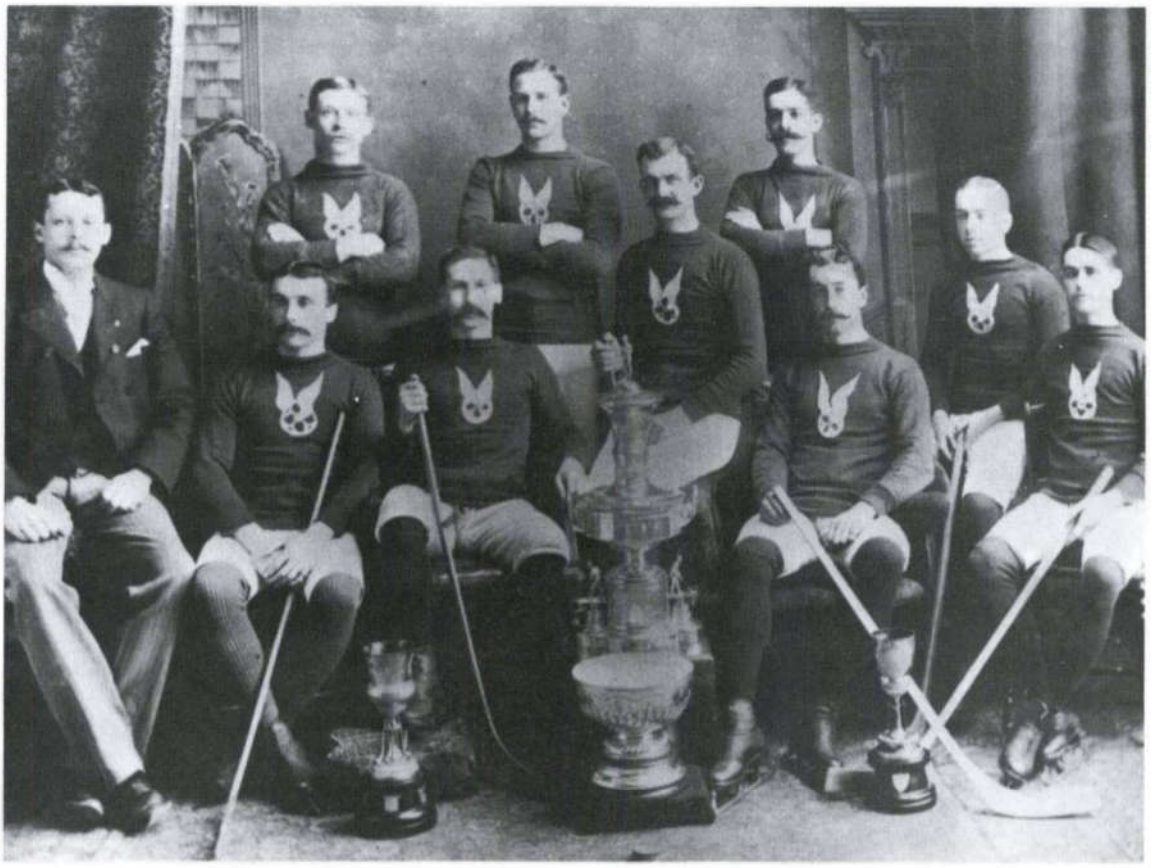
National Archives of Canada

James G. A. Creighton who organized the first game of ice hockey at the Victoria Skating Rink, Montreal, in 1875. He became law clerk of the Senate in 1882 and later played for the Rideau Hall Rebels.

The game in the early years was much slower than today because the players were not only on the ice for the whole match, but a player, including the goalkeeper, could not make a forward pass to a teammate — a rule which persisted well into this century. This is not to say the game, in which lateral passing and stick-handling were important, lacked excitement. A rush by four forwards down the ice generated plenty of thrills as described by Arthur Farrell, a nineteenth-century sports writer:

> Without comparing it to an oil painting of a chariot race, an Indian buffalo hunt or a fierce battle, what is prettier than the spectacle that a good game presents, of four stalwart, shapely forwards tearing down the ice, playing their lightning combination, of a brilliant rush stopped by an equally brilliant defence play, of a quick dash through a struggling mass of excited players, or a zig-zag, twisting, twirling, dodging run to score the deciding goal?

As a member of the AHAC, the Montreal Hockey Club, one of several sports clubs under the umbrella of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association (Montreal AAA), had an outstanding record right from the start. Founded on 28 November 1884, the team had early success by winning a tournament at the Victoria Rink in 1887, and the championship of the winter carnival in



Hockey Hall of Fame

Montreal Athletic Association Hockey Club, with the Stanley Cup and other prizes, 1893.

1887, both held in Montreal. Later, as part of the AHAC, the team rose to prominence with its incredible winning record in the new organization. In fact, the club dominated the AHAC by winning seven consecutive championships. In 1887-88 it won the AHAC championship during the association's first year of existence and two years later, in 1890, it became permanent holders of the association's trophy for having won the AHAC championship during three successive seasons. The team kept up its winning streak over the next three seasons and, in 1893, became permanent possessors of a second AHAC championship trophy. More important, the Montreal AAA hockey club became the first holders of the coveted Dominion Hockey Challenge Cup, better known as the Stanley Cup.

The history leading up to the donation of the Stanley Cup is really the story of the Stanley family and their interest in ice hockey as spectators, participants and promoters of the game. Sir Frederick Arthur Stanley, first baron of Preston, became Governor General of Canada on 11 June 1888. In February 1889, Lord Stanley witnessed his first hockey match at the Montreal Winter Carnival when the Montreal Victorias beat the Montreal AAA team by a score of 2-1. Expressing "his great delight in the game of hockey and the expertness of the players," Stanley became a regular and distinguished spectator. Moreover, he allowed his sons to form a hockey team at Government House, his official residence in Ottawa. At first, the Rideau Hall Rebels, as the team became known, which was made up mainly of Members of Parliament and staff of Government House, played a few games on an outdoor rink at Government House against local teams. In the winter of 1890, however, the Rebels organized a series of matches in Lindsay, Toronto and Kingston which did a lot to promote the game in Ontario.

Soon, hockey was flourishing in Ontario. The first organized hockey team in the province, the Ottawa Hockey Club, had participated in the Montreal Winter Carnival as early as 1884, and went on to become a charter member of the AHAC in 1886. In March of that year, in the first game in Kingston played under "Montreal Rules," a team from Queen's University beat the cadets from the Royal Military College by a score of 2-1. The next year, in 1887, Tom Patton, the goalkeeper of the Montreal AAA hockey club brought the

game to Toronto. By 1890, as hockey spread to other centres in Ontario, the time seemed ripe for the establishment of an organization to promote province-wide play. Arthur Stanley, son of Lord Stanley, along with two Members of Parliament, John A. Barron and Henry A. Ward, all of whom had played on the Rideau Hall Rebels, figured prominently in founding a governing body. The Ontario Hockey Association, of which Lord Stanley became patron, was formed in November 1890 when representatives of clubs from various colleges, universities, athletic associations and the military from Toronto, Ottawa, Kingston, Lindsay, Port Hope and Bowmanville met in Toronto.

With such a keen interest exhibited by the Stanleys in the sport and, in particular, in the founding of the Ontario Hockey Association, it is small wonder that in 1892 Lord Stanley donated a challenge trophy for presentation to the amateur hockey champions of Canada. In a letter to a friend in Canada, dated 17 July 1942, Lord Stanley's eldest son, Edward, Earl of Derby, recalled his involvement in ice hockey in Canada:

> I remember well its initiation. It was in connection with a small body of ice hockey enthusiasts, of whom 4 or 5 at least, if not more, were members of the staff of my father Lord Stanley of Preston, then Governor General of Canada. We formed a team of ourselves, not too well looked upon by the authorities, and I think our name "The Rebels" shows very clearly the feelings that existed amongst other hockey players toward us. However, gradually any prejudice there was died down, and I am glad to think that from that very small beginning there has developed the present contest for the Stanley Cup.

As mentioned, the Montreal AAA team, one of the oldest hockey clubs in Montreal, became the first holders of the Stanley Cup in 1893. They had an outstanding record that year in capturing the AHAC title as they beat out Ottawa, Quebec, the Montreal Crystals and the Montreal Victorias. Led by Haviland Routh, who scored twelve goals during the season, and Billy Barlow, who added seven more, the team chalked up an impressive record of seven wins against only one loss. The Ottawa team, which finished second in the league with six wins and two losses, defeated the powerful Montreal AAA team by a score of 2-1 at home, but lost 7-1 in the return match in Montreal. Although the Ottawa club won the championship of the Ontario Hockey Association in 1893, there was no play-off between the winners of the two associations. The Stanley Cup Trustees, P.D. Ross, a journalist and sportsman, and Sheriff John Sweetland, both of Ottawa, decided that the Montreal AAA hockey club as champions of the AHAC — the premier league in Canada at that time — was the leading team and deserving of Lord Stanley's silverware.

The first presentation of the Stanley Cup did not take place at centre ice in a crowded forum but at the Montreal AAA clubhouse, then located on Mansfield Street. At the annual meeting of the sports club, on 15 May 1893, Sheriff Sweetland presented the trophy to the President, J.A.Taylor. In addition, souvenir rings were awarded to the members of the championship hockey team: Tom Patton, goal; Jim Stewart, point; Allan Cameron, cover-point; and forwards Alex Irving, Haviland Routh, Archie Hodggon, J. Lowe, A. Kingan, and Billy Barlow.

The Montreal Hockey Club, however, did not gain immediate custody of the Stanley Cup because they refused to accept it from the Montreal AAA. They claimed that the Stanley Cup Trustees had not consulted them when Sheriff Sweetland presented the trophy to Mr. Taylor. The Montreal AAA held the cup in trust from May 1893 onward until the Stanley Cup Trustees told them what to do with it. Finally, on 20 February 1894, the Trustees wrote the Secretary-Treasurer of the Montreal AAA, W.S. Weldon, arranging for the transfer of the cup to the Montreal Hockey Club:

> As trustees of the Stanley Hockey Challenge Cup, which is in the care of the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, we have arranged for the reception of the cup by the Montreal Hockey Club, and we will be obliged if you will honour the order of Mr. Stewart, President of the MHC, for the trophy.

As a result, the Montreal AAA turned the cup over to the Montreal Hockey Club on 23 February 1894. Finally, the team gained possession of the trophy it had won some nine months before.

This dispute was no sooner settled when another most unlikely one arose. On 10 March 1894, the executive of the AHAC held a meeting to decide how to break a deadlock for first place which had occurred between four of the five competing teams. The Montreal AAA, the Montreal Victorias, Quebec and

McCord Museum, Montreal

Victorias Hockey Club of Montreal at the Notman studio, 1888.

Ottawa wound up play with identical records of five wins and three losses. In the discussions of the play-off schedule to determine the AHAC champions, an argument arose over the location of the deciding games, causing the withdrawal of the Quebec team. The AHAC then decided that the remaining teams, the Montreal AAA and the Victorias, would play each other in Montreal and the winner would go against Ottawa.

On 17 March 1894, the semi-final play-off match for the championship of the AHAC took place in Montreal's Victoria Rink. In an exciting game, Billy Barlow led the Montreal AAA club to a 3-2 victory over the Victorias with two goals. For the Montreal AAA team, which advanced against Ottawa, the final contest was of great importance. The team was not only defending the AHAC championship, but for the first time a team was playing in defence of the Stanley Cup.

In the final, which took place on 22 March 1894 in the Victoria Rink in Montreal, it was Billy Barlow who once again sparked Montreal to a 3-1 victory over Ottawa with two goals. By their triumph over the Montreal Victorias and Ottawa, the Montreal AAA hockey club not only clinched their seventh consecutive AHAC championship but their second successive Stanley Cup. Although the Stanley Cup Trustees had accepted a challenge from the Osgoode Hall club, champions of the Ontario Hockey Association, the "Legalites", as they were known, never played for the trophy. It was so late in the season by the time the Montreal AAA team had won the AHAC championship that poor ice conditions prevented the match with the Toronto team from taking place.

In the 1894-95 season, the Montreal AAA club lost the AHAC title to the Montreal Victorias. This was the first time since the establishment of the AHAC in 1887-88 that Montreal AAA team had failed to win the league championship. Ironically, the team successfully defended the Stanley Cup that season even though they were later forced to give up the trophy. This bizarre turn of events occurred because the Stanley Cup Trustees had accepted a challenge from the Queen's University club of Kingston, winners of the Ontario Hockey Association, before the Montreal Victorias had been declared AHAC champions. The Trustees, therefore, ordered the Stanley Cup holders, the Montreal AAA

Hockey Hall of Fame

Lord Stanley: a prize cup.

P.D. Ross: pioneer "builder".

club to defend it. On 9 March 1895, the Montreal AAA led by Haviland Routh with two goals, trounced Queen's by a score of 5-1. The victory was anticlimactic because the Stanley Cup was turned over to the Montreal Victorias on the strength of their first place finish in the AHAC.

Thus ended the supremacy of the Montreal AAA hockey club which had contributed so much to the development of ice hockey in Canada. Their team had won seven consecutive AHAC championships and the Stanley Cup twice during the first ten years of their existence. There is no doubt that the winning record of the Montreal AAA team made it one of the most outstanding clubs in Canadian hockey during the nineteenth century.

The mantle of the AHAC passed from the Montreal AAA hockey club to the Montreal Victorias who reigned as Stanley Cup champions almost continuously over the next four seasons. In fact, teams from Eastern Canada (Montreal, Quebec and Ottawa) held the Stanley Cup nineteen out of twenty-three times between 1893 and 1914.

The first winners of the Stanley Cup from outside Montreal, and the AHAC, were the Winnipeg Victorias. Founded in 1890, the Victorias were one of the first organized hockey clubs in Manitoba. As early as 1890, a Winnipeg all-star team composed of players from the Manitoba Senior Hockey League, including some players from the Victorias, toured Eastern Canada. It came as quite a surprise when the Winnipeg team won seven out of ten games played against clubs in Quebec and Ontario. According to author Bill Fitsell, the Winnipeg team made an important contribution to hockey. They brought to Eastern Canada the idea of using cricket wicket-keeper pads for the goalkeeper and soccer-type shin pads for the rest of the players. After that time, protective padding gradually became accepted by hockey players everywhere. In addition, the Western team came up with a face-off adopted from lacrosse which soon replaced the bully in the rules of the AHAC.

By 1896, the Stanley Cup Trustees considered the Winnipeg Victorias, the leading senior hockey team in Manitoba, a legitimate contender to challenge the AHAC champions from Montreal, also called the Victorias, for the trophy. On 14 February 1896, the Winnipeg Victorias won the Stanley Cup in Montreal by shutting-out their namesake 2-0. Winnipeg's hold on the Cup was not to last. In a game played in Winnipeg

Manitoba Provincial Archives

The Winnipeg Victorias were Stanley Cup winners in 1896.

on 30 December 1896, they lost to Montreal Victorias by a score of 6-5. However, an East-West rivalry proved good for the game and created interest in hockey right across the country.

One writer, Alan Metcalfe, summed up the progress of the game in the mid-1890s, when hockey was still limited to certain social groups:

> By 1895, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Halifax, Saint John, Quebec City, Peterborough and Ottawa all boasted intra-city leagues. These leagues demonstrated a common characteristic — the sponsors were invariably middle class groups: amateur athletic associations, universities, garrisons, banks, collegiate institutes, and, in Winnipeg, several mercantile firms. Thus, organized hockey was still restricted to the privileged segments of the community. However, leagues only encompassed a small percentage of the teams playing hockey. Challenge matches between a variety of impermanent teams were common.

In just twenty years, the game of ice hockey had made remarkable progress. After Creighton's nine won the first organized match at the Victoria Rink in Montreal in 1875, hockey gradually expanded from Montreal and grew into our most popular winter sport. As with other amateur sports of the day, the biggest challenge in the 1890s was the threat of professionalism. At times, amateur teams wanted to win so much that they brought in players (called "ringers") to bolster their club and paid them for their services. As James March wrote: "In the prevailing climate of the late nineteenth century, playing for money was considered immoral, but many players accepted money secretly." On the surface, at least, hockey was strictly amateur. The Stanley Cup which represented the most coveted award that an amateur team could possess, was still held by a Montreal team – the Victorias of the AHAC. It would remain in Montreal, where ice hockey had originated, until the turn of the twentieth century. ◆

James M. Whalen of Ottawa is an archivist in the Government Archives Division, National Archives of Canada. He attributes the inspiration he received for this article to the late Gerry G. Cumming, who was responsible for the development of the sports archives at the National Archives of Canada.

The small drawings are by Arthur Heming and appeared in "Harper's Weekly" for 12 January 1895.

'I detest the world outside these walls ...'

999 Queen Street West: The Toronto Asylum Scandal

By Chris Raible

"Exceedingly handsome, commodious, healthful and safe...a monument to the Christian liberality of the people," wrote *Toronto Globe* editor George Brown of the new Provincial Lunatic Asylum in 1850. He optimistically viewed it as a true asylum, "where disturbing influences are absent — not a mere hospital or prison — where every good part of human nature is brought into play."

Within a few short years, however, Brown's attitudes radically altered. An old political adversary, Dr. Joseph Workman, was named head of the institution. Brown soon became a harsh critic, most severely in February, 1857, when the *Globe* published an attack on the moral character and medical competence of the Medical Superintendent. Dr. Workman was guilty of "villainy, deceit, and tyranny," wrote a disgruntled former hospital porter, James Magar. Calling himself "the moral Sentinel of the Asylum," his letter was headlined by the *Globe,* "Recent Disgraceful and Outrageous Doings at the Provincial Lunatic Asylum." Magar outlined a number of alleged incidents of sexual misconduct, inadequate security, physical harassment, and administrative mismanagement. The letter ended with this comment: "He [Workman] has been sustained by the present corrupt government from graver charges, and until the moral pestilence of his superintendence stinks in the community, he is likely to continue his villainy and outrage."

Dr. Workman responded by immediately suing Brown for libel, seeking damages of five thousand pounds.

The opening of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum in Toronto in 1850 was the climax of a long political struggle, and marked a major change in attitude toward the treatment of the mentally ill in Upper Canada. In the early years of the province, there was no provision for the insane. "Quiet lunatics," as one authority dubbed them, were confined at home, while "furious lunatics," those more of a threat to persons or property, were consigned to jails. In 1830 the magistrates of the Home District called for some more humane form of treatment. After nine years of wrangling, the legislature authorized "the erection of an asylum within the Province for the reception of Insane and Lunatic persons," and temporary provisions were made at the old Toronto jail. Negotiations for a permanent facility began, but continued squabbles meant more delays. It was not until 1845 that construction began on the building (later notorious as "999 Queen Street"), designed by the noted city architect John George Howard. Five more years passed, however before the asylum, only half complete, opened its doors.

The new hospital was situated well outside the city, in a large open area on the lake shore. It was intended to be a sanctuary, a safe place, for persons who were suffering. Inmates were to be treated as patients, there to be cured in an atmosphere of cleanliness, kindness, decency and compassion. The impressions of Susanna Moodie, visiting Toronto in the autumn of 1852, well captured the new attitude:

> The asylum is a spacious edifice, surrounded by extensive grounds for the cultivation of fruits and vegetables... (with) ample room for air and exercise...Ascending a broad flight of steps, as clean as it was possible for human hands to make them, we came to a long wide gallery, separated at either end by large folding-doors, the upper part of which were of glass; those to the right opening into the ward set apart for male patients who were so far harmless that they were allowed free use of their limbs, and could be spoken to without any danger to the visitors. The female lunatics inhabited the ward to the left... The long hall into which their work-rooms and sleeping apartments opened was lofty, well lighted, well aired, and exquisitely clean; so were the persons of the women, who were walking to and fro, laughing and chatting very sociably together. Others were sewing and quilting in rooms set apart for that purpose. There was no appearance of wretchedness or misery in this ward; nothing that associated with it the terrible idea of madness I had been wont to entertain — for these poor creatures looked healthy and cheerful,

Susanna Moodie, a modern portrait made for the University of Toronto Press by John Elphick.

nay, almost happy, as if they had given the world and all its cares the go-by.

For all its light, however, the place was not all sweetness. The administration of the facility continued to be marked with political favouritism in the employing of staff and a not-always-benign neglect of the patient residents. The chairman of the board and the hospital superintendent engaged in constant in-fighting.

Early in 1853 a grand jury was called in to investigate. Its members avoided involved medical or administrative controversies, focusing their interest instead almost exclusively on the building and physical arrangements. They found the rooms "uniformly clean, in good order, comfortably warm, and with one or two exceptions properly ventilated." In their opinion, the kitchen was "well managed," and the food "of the best description." The patients were "clean," "well behaved," and during the whole of the jury's three-hour visit, "not one obscene or profane word reached the ears." The jurors thought "the treatment of the patients appeared to be mild and indulgent, the persons in charge of the wards attentive; and with the more violent cases even forbearing towards the unfortunate persons whom it was their duty to watch over." The grand jury made a number of minor suggestions about such matters as ventilation and plumbing, noting that there did seem to be a drainage problem, but "no offensive smell could be detected in consequence"

The stink of politics, however, persisted. A second grand jury also visited the asylum. Its members found "every portion of the building ... well ventilated, and free of all unpleasant smells," but they did note the need for a few physical repairs. These jurors also showed an interest in godliness as well as cleanliness by commenting that they "in no instance heard an improper expression." While jurors could not claim to be "good judges of how such an establishment should be regulated," they commended the administration: "We feel bound to say that, in our opinion, their treatment pursued towards the unhappy insane of the Asylum is humane, kind and attentive."

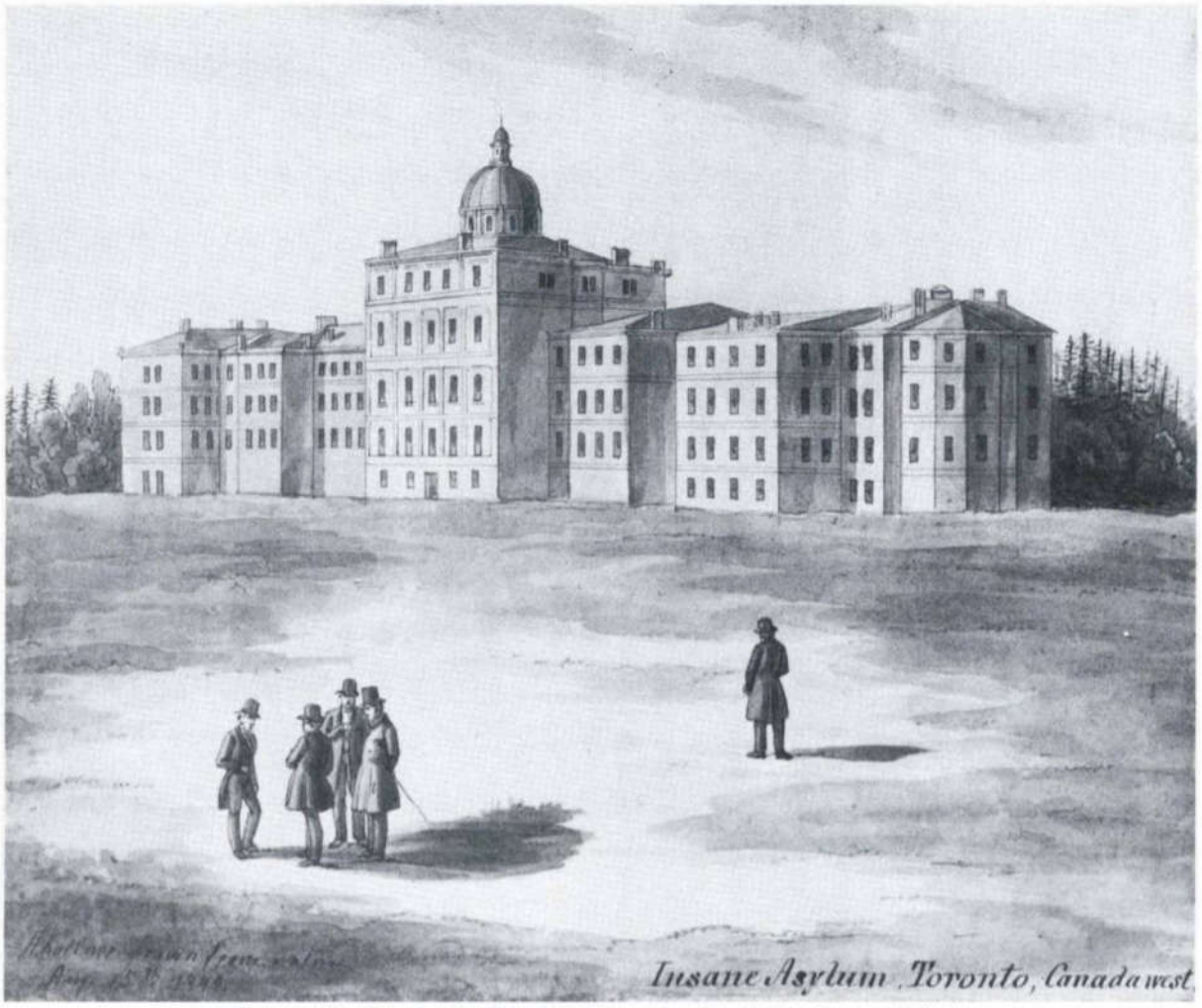
Despite such uncritical reassurances, controversy continued. By July, 1853, a new "Act for the Better Management of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum at Toronto" went into effect and the medical director resigned.

Into the troubled place, Joseph Workman stepped, armed by the provisions of the new act with the powers required to clean up the place. Workman was no stranger to political conflict. A native of Northern Ireland, he studied medicine at McGill in Montreal, taking a particular interest in the Asiatic cholera epidemic which was then plaguing Canada. He received his medical degree in 1835, but the next year moved to Toronto to take over a struggling family hardware business. In Toronto he soon plunged into city politics as a champion of the Reform cause. Ten years later, he returned to his first love, medicine, built up a large practice, and began teaching at the Toronto School of Medicine, specializing in midwifery and diseases of women and children. He also continued his political activity, was elected as a city alderman, was appointed to a three-man committee to inquire into the affairs of King's College, and was elected chair of the first Toronto Public School Board. He also found time to assist in the establishment of a Unitarian Church.

During this time Workman often wrote his opinions to the press, and for a time he edited the *Toronto Mirror,* one of the *Globe*'s fiercest competitors. It was during this period that Workman's antipathy toward George Brown (and Brown's toward Workman) probably developed. By 1852 Workman was referring to Brown as "an unprincipled editor ... an enemy with whom the public should do battle"

Upon his appointment to direct the asylum, Workman immediately set about cleaning and ordering the physical facility. His knowledge of hardware — especially plumbing — no doubt came in handy. There were problems with flues, problems with vents, problems with windows, problems with the water supply, and especially problems with drains:

> Every apartment abounded with foul air; and it was found beneath the basement floors, covering a space of six hundred feet in length by thirty to one hundred feet in breadth, there had ... accumulated a mass of filth and impure fluids, the stench from which, when first exposed, was so insufferable and overpowering, as instantly to sicken several of those ... who



National Archives of Canada

Insane Asylum, Canada West, 15 August 1848, an ink and wash sketch by August Köllner.

chanced to inhale it ... Beneath the kitchens and adjoining parts, the filth was found to measure from three to five feet in depth; and was of varying consistence, from that of dense mud to thin molasses. The superjacent floors and joists were so rotten as to yield under every passing foot, and in several places had given way, leaving openings from which issued the most offensive effluvia. A rank fungous vegetation hung from the under surface of the decayed timbers. The dry-rot had seized the wood skirtings ... and extended into the upper stories.

The new superintendent also found himself faced with a very different type of problem to clean up:

> An evil of inconceivable magnitude ... in the working and present condition of this Institution has been the introduction into it, of criminal Lunatics from the Provincial Penitentiary, and the County Jails. It is an outrage against public benevolence, and an indignity to human affliction, to cast into the same house of refuge with the harmless, feeble, kind-hearted and truthful victims of ordinary insanity, those moral monsters ... or, yet worse, those villains who affect insanity by means of evading the just punishment of the most atrocious crimes.

Workman believed that for his patients to benefit from being under his care, both the physical and the spiritual environment had to be unpolluted. Surprisingly, perhaps, he believed in making as little use of medicine as possible. When it was necessary, it was to be "administered for the relief of bodily ailments and not for the cure of the mental malady."

Paradoxically, perhaps, Workman was aware that his asylum was not necessarily a therapeutic place for all sufferers. There were many cases of "unreal or ephemeral lunacy" which, he believed, were better refused admission, "many of which might, by dragging

the poor creatures to Toronto, and incarcerating them amongst the dense crowd of maniacs in our house be transformed into cases of real madness." He believed that "50 per-cent of the alleged cases of lunacy for which admission into the asylum is sought *are curable at home,* under appropriate treatment."

Such a stance was politically unpopular. Almost as soon as the Provincial Lunatic Asylum had opened its doors, local officials began to recognize its utility as a boarding house for unmanageable persons, whether or not they were actually mad. As one modern historian describes it, authorities sent "all variety of misfits and trouble-makers, their indigent, their congenitally defect, and their old and senile." Most of these may have been harmless, but most were also incurable, taking up space needed for those who were, in Workman's words, "acute, improvable or truly dangerous." The superintendent tried to maintain strict admission standards, but it was not easy, and in time the institution became more and more crowded.

In consequence, Workman was constantly lobbying for funds to allow the completion of his half-finished building. The intransigence and stupidity of the Legislature, he believed, was preventing him from doing his job. A few weeks before the libel trial, he poured out his frustration to a Member of Parliament:

> If we had a single man in the Legislature who had ever studied the subject of insanity & insane Hospitals, before today this house would have been completed. What sort of an account can any of you give at the bar of Heaven, for your willful ignorance, and woeful negligence? "Depart from me, ye cursed."

Although this was a private communication, such hostile feelings can hardly have helped Workman in his public efforts to gain approval and assistance for his asylum.

Workman could be equally harsh in reproaching his fellow physicians. "Nothing," he once wrote, "has so largely contributed to the filling of this asylum with incurables, as the almost astonishing ignorance of the medical profession, on the true nature, & the proper treatment of insanity." One of his reports attacked the maltreatment of the mentally ill with "active and depressing therapeutic measures," including, "bloodletting, purging, vomiting, salivation, blistering, cupping, setons, low diet, and the whole battery of medical destructives."

He scoffed at most of the presumed causes of mental illness, "in nineteen cases out of every twenty, entirely fallacious." Among the extraordinary causes listed by relatives or medical examiners were:

> Grief; Love; Loss of Property; Religious Excitement; Religious Despair; Family Quarrels; Jealousy; Fright; Disappointed Affections; Excessive Study; Reading and Fasting; Intemperance; Breach of Promise of Marriage; Suppression of Menses; Slander; Want of Employment; Marriage; Miscarriage, and bad treatment; Spirit Rapping; Death of Child; Death of Husband; Death of Wife; Business Difficulties; Political Excitement; Disputed Boundary; Strong Tea; Eclipse of the Sun; Religious Controversy; Inhalation of Nitrous Oxide Gas; Reading Religious Books; Tobacco; Remorse of Conscience, &c., &c.

If any one of these, Workman asked "may be regarded as adequate to the overthrow of reason, how many lunatics should this Province contain? Intemperance alone would people fifty Asylums as large as our present one. Jealous wives and husbands would probably fill thirty." "Political excitement," he continued, "would tenant a mad-house in every county, and one of superior class and size in the metropolis." While "religious controversy would send in half the clergy of this Province, and large detachments of their congregations." If "tobacco and slander" caused insanity, there would be few in Canada left "at large." Such scathing judgments were perhaps the source of some of the enmity against him.

On the other hand, Workman was clear about what he thought were the real causes of madness, such agencies as:

> Gestation; Puerperal disorder; Over lactation; Fevers resulting in cerebral lesion; Sun-stroke; Intense cold to the head; Injuries of the skull; Apoplexy; Epilepsy; Parental intemperance; Masturbation; Scrofulous and syphilitic taint; Defective diet.

Nonetheless, for all such largely physical causes, Workman believed there was something more: "Underlying or interwoven with these, or other efficient causes of insanity, are to be detected evils in the existing state of society, and it is to be feared in the pernicious tendencies of modern education and the moral training of youth."

In one annual report, Workman quoted one of his colleagues, the director of an American asylum, who reported the case of one poor patient:

> The hair becomes dry and falls off; the eye becomes vacant and watery, and the lids are red and tumid; the countenance is pale and expressionless, the flesh wastes, the limbs hang loosely to the trunk, the muscles are flaccid, the skin loose and scurfy, the hands are purple and cold, and the palms exude a constant viscid sweat. Long periods of utter inaction are sometimes suddenly broken by spells of uncontrollable fury, spending themselves on the nearest object within reach. Finally the wretched object becomes motionless and inert. He rises and sits down, eats and sleeps, only as he is prompted to such acts by others.

Metro Toronto Library

The Asylum at 999 Queen Street West photographed in 1868.

There was no doubt in Workman's mind that some unknown "secret evil" lay behind all this, causing such awful behavior:

> The corrupt family servant, the vicious school-fellow, the libidinous book or picture, or simply the unchecked work of a wanton imagination, has sown the small but fatal seed of ruin — has broken down the golden wall of youthful purity and let in vice in one of its most loathsome and destructive forms.

Here, no doubt, was the reason why Workman was so shaken by the supposed revelations printed in the *Toronto Globe*. They were not simply accusations of a faulty asylum administration. They brought into question the environment of virtue which he believed was essential to his institution.

Caring for the mentally ill was, to him, not merely a matter of medical therapy, it demanded moral management.

The libel case of *Workman v. Brown* held in the York County courthouse on 22 and 23 April, 1857, created

something of a public sensation. Nearly all the Toronto newspapers gave it extensive coverage. Former asylum porter James Magar's accusations were examined in detail. Two of them were perhaps titillating, but hardly shocking, save that they suggested an unacceptable permissiveness at the asylum:

> First ... that the female lunatic patients were exposed to improper intercourse by the Steward ... who allowed Thomas Pearce, a patient ... formerly a convict in the Penitentiary, to go at his pleasure through the female wards to examine whether the windows required glazing, until he was detected by ... a nurse ... with a female in a private room ... Report No. 2. That the Steward did not pay proper attention to the security of the Government property in allowing (the same) Thomas Pearce ... to take one of the horses and go for whiskey ... and ... with a horse and cart that he might get through the gates for sugar sticks.

A parade of witness were called to testify, many of them former employees who had reasons to be hostile toward Workman. Little was actually proved, however, although spectators at the trial were treated to testimony by Pearce himself. Amidst laughter, he tenaciously stuck to his explanation that he had been fixing the pipes when he had been discovered in the women's ward bath room, in the dark, at eleven at night. It was, however, never ascertained whether a woman had in fact also been in there with him.

A third accusation made by Magar was obviously far more damaging:

> A female in one of wards was in the family way, and when she took labour and her pains increased her madness, the nurses did not know, and put on her a straight jacket, and confined her in the common place of punishment, when it was discovered by the cries of the infant, without Dr. Workman ever having told the attendants of her having been pregnant; the sight of the mother was awful, her face was all covered with blood in endeavouring to extricate herself.

Once more there was a parade of witnesses — nurses, attendants, doctors, hospital commissioners — who, while denying that the patient had been put in a strait jacket or had been put in a confined space for punishment, confirmed that a birth had taken place. They also confirmed how constantly dirty and distraught the patient had been. Professional medical witnesses disagreed, however, as to whether such an surprise birth was evidence that the patient had been improperly treated, either by Workman or by others on his staff. (The child, by the way, was baptized — with Workman as godfather — but it lived only a few days.)

Scandalous as these accusations were, they were not exactly new. When they had first been brought to Workman's attention, he immediately called for an official investigation by the Visiting Commissioners of the asylum. They quickly made a full inquiry, took statements, examined witnesses (including Magar) and unanimously concluded that the charges "were utterly without foundation and completely void of truth." Although their report had been immediately forwarded to provincial authorities and had been printed on 5 March, George Brown had refused to publish the report in the *Globe,* thus allowing Magar's charges to stand unanswered.

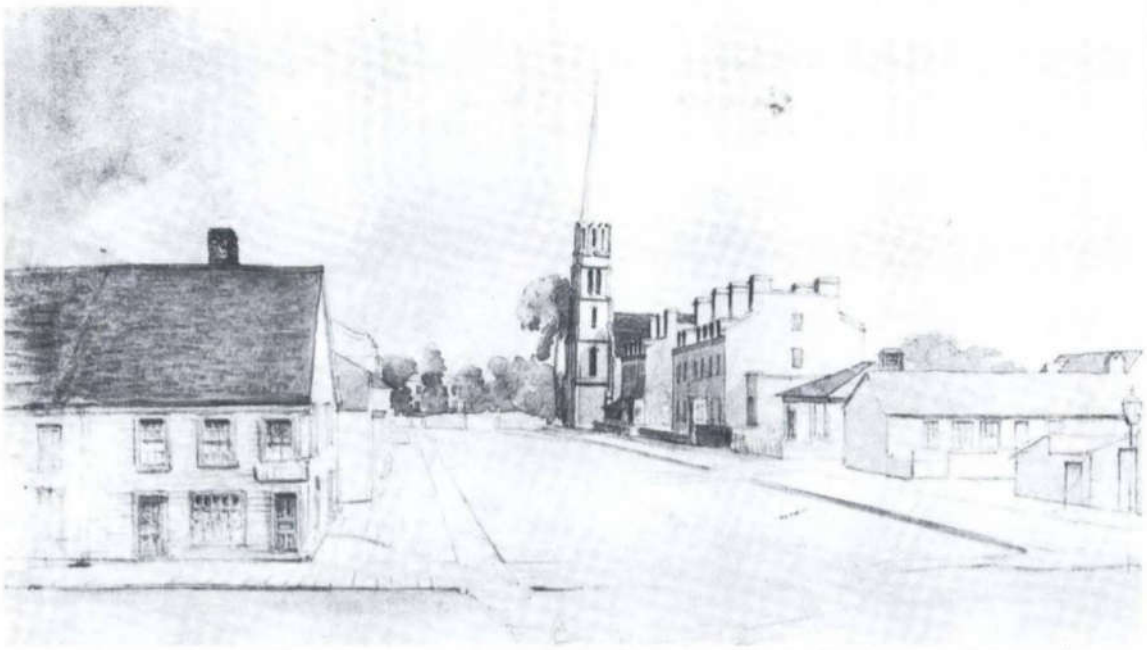
All this might be juicy scandal to the ordinary reader, but there was more, fed perhaps by old underlying political hostilities. Trial testimony brought out two

Metro Toronto Library

George Brown, editor of "The Globe".

damaging facts, albeit not specifically relevant to the libel suit. For at least two years there had been a fierce feud between Workman and his bursar — the two rarely spoke. Also, the former assistant superintendent had recently been forced out, the post being filled by Workman's brother, Dr. Benjamin Workman. Such evidence can hardly have helped the Medical Superintendent's case.

Despite its name, Provincial Lunatic Asylum, the hospital was not a safe place separate from the world. Its creation and its administration were inevitably involved in the political machinations of the time. Since



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Street scene, Toronto, 1851, a water-colour and pencil sketch by A.R.V. Crease. The view, from the corner of Queen and John Streets, shows St. George's Church, with the Lord Nelson Inn in the foreground and "The Grange," a Toronto landmark that still survives, at the top of Queen.

it spent public money — a great deal of public money — it was always subject to public scrutiny, especially by journalist/politicians like George Brown. Since it hired many public employees, it was ever subject to accusations of patronage — in those days patronage politics touched every provincially administered institution. Brown had taken an interest in it long before it opened. He had opposed Workman's appointment — itself a patronage gift from Dr. John Rolph, then an influential member of the provincial government.

Once he became asylum director, however, Workman saw his sole responsibility to be his patients. He did not do enough to curry the favour of those, like Brown, who were in positions of influence. "My politics," he wrote but two years after taking office, "are lunatic asylums." Only a few weeks before the trial, he revealed his hostility to the press in a private note to the editor of another paper:

> I solemnly declare that my duties amongst my patients are to me a source of happiness beyond all sublunary enjoyments. I love my patients — and they love me — they are honest, truthful, grateful. I detest the world outside these walls. You had rather be an editor. I had rather restore reason. You rejoice in the function of distracting it. God help the world!

Why had Workman, instead of going to court, not written a response to the *Globe* refuting the scurrilous charges? Because he carried an old grudge. Three years earlier there had been a dispute about the Toronto School of Medicine. "Brown then *lied* with perfect knowledge of the sin," declared the righteous Workman to the father of one of his patients. On that occasion, the *Globe* editor had steadfastly refused to print the doctor's refutation. He was not about to try that course again.

Workman's lawyer argued that Brown had published the reports "to gratify a vindictive and malicious spirit." Had he, Brown, taken the trouble to visit the Lunatic Asylum, he would have found it in perfect order. The lawyer pointed to a conspiracy against Workman, implying that Brown was part of it, out to use "the evidence of discarded and degraded menials to crash a man." The institution's recent history was well known, each of its four previous superintendents had been "subjected to every kind of libel slander" so each "had been driven from the Institution."

The trial ended with the jury unable to reach a decision. The *Globe* reported that only two of the twelve jurors had favoured damages for Workman while nine had sided with Brown — apparently they believed that at least some of the accusations against the asylum were true.

Workman weathered the storm — he did not resign his post. He went on to serve as Medical Superintendent for more than two decades, retiring in 1875 — "for reasons understood by myself" he recorded in his diary. ◆

Toronto writer and historian Chris Raible is a frequent contributor to "The Beaver" and is the author of the recently published "Muddy York Mud: Scandal and Scurrility in Upper Canada," Dundurn Press, 1993.

Rascal, Madman and Genius

By David Watmough

BROTHER TWELVE
The Incredible Story of Canada's False Prophet

By John Oliphant. McClelland & Stewart Inc., Toronto, 1993. 371 pp., illus. $29.95.

Ostensibly this is the story of a somewhat sinister ex-sea captain of British birth who made his niche in Canadian history through founding a quasi-religious colony with distinctly erotic overtones.

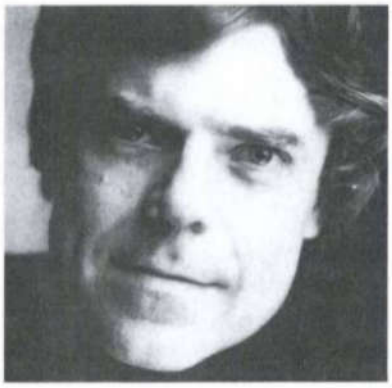
Edward Arthur Wilson established his community of diverse seekers after spiritual enlightenment on what was still, in the late 1920s, a remote setting south of Nanaimo, Cedar-by-the-Sea, and subsequently on the adjacent Gulf Islands of Decourcy and Valdes.

With such volatile ingredients, if the author had chosen to exploit the sensational (sadistic and submissive sex) and the scurrilous (milking American matrons of vast sums of money, articulating racist contempt for both Chinese and Jews) we could have easily ended up with a *pot-pourri* of astrological rhetoric, blatant religious credulity, and sheer cupidity in a distinctly unsavoury context.

That we are not served that particular brew (which has certainly been exploited in past accounts) is entirely due to John Oliphant's skills as a biographer, researcher, and most gratifying of all, as a masterful scribe of the English language.

There are a few factual errors littering the narrative which might offend the historical purist but they are not of a profound nature. To wit: Lancing is a private boys' school in Sussex — *not* a college, William of Orange was never a "Sir" but a prince and subsequent King who — far from *ending* the Stuart dynasty — married into it and thus obliquely perpetuated it.

One also wonders whether Brother Twelve's fellow crew member, Edric Douglas Agate, 25 in 1930, *really* resembled King George V (who was then 75) or his son the internationally known Prince of Wales, later Duke of Windsor, who would then have been 36. And there are also occasional misspellings such as the name of opera star Amelita Galli-Curci which a copy editor should surely have caught.



John Oliphant

But these are mere fly-specks compared to the Herculean efforts of the author to be objective in his perceptions and fair in his judgments. So scrupulous is he that it behoves a reviewer to respond in kind: to reveal where sympathies fray and personal prejudices inform.

I am not a believer in the objective reality of the occult, nor do I hold much credence for astrology or theosophy. I also find it odd that messages from unseen worlds are couched exclusively in pastiche seventeenth century English renderings of "you" in the third person singular. Equally risible is when Brother Twelve, purporting to provide a supernatural "Message", confuses HIM with HE in the line "HIM WHO IS TO COME". Are we to believe that grammar has no place on the astral plane — provided all communications are littered with *thee*s and *thou*s and other germane archaisms?

In comparable vein, it is surely sublime arrogance to assume in the vein of American TV evangelists that English is the required tongue for unearthly powers of the spirit, and the exclusive vehicle of verbal communication between them and our liguistically variegated planet.

John Oliphant is not the sinner here. He faithfully records the rhetoric of nether worlds and provides his portrait of Edward Arthur Wilson in tones of every distinction.

A far more serious consideration is the complex character of Brother Twelve that is gradually and subtly revealed throughout this narrative. Questions of a paradoxical nature leap to the reader's mind — but so reticent is Oliphant with slick judgments that we are, perforce, led to provide answers of our own. Again, the reader must be careful to emphasize that his or her responses are inevitably subjective.

It is hard to gainsay that Wilson, when he initially comes on scene as a mature man about to launch his career as Brother Twelve, is someone of considerable erudition. His knowledge of occult lore, for example, would seem from the sheer numbers and variety of his fellow-believers in these arcane matters, to be freely acknowledged as impres-

sive. The point is whether or not such vast, unprovable knowledge is really edifying — let alone profitable to anyone but Mr. Wilson and his ever-open pocket.

Certainly Brother Twelve was highly intelligent — perhaps the word brilliant is even appropriate — but whether such a quality should be regarded as the craftiness of a superb con artist rather than the wisdom of an accomplished guru is never really in dispute.

My impression of the Edward Wilson who emerges from Oliphant's enthralling account is of a complicated rascal who both nudges genius and is shadowed by madness. The author proves equally that Brother Twelve was a barefaced liar — as, for instance, in providing telling evidence that his biographical subject freely suggested he was wholly unfamiliar with Vancouver Island when announcing it as the site for his ambitious messianic plans, but secretly knowing it very well from both living and working there as a mariner.

We are also given vivid glimpses of the man's savage rages and his propensity to bully and threaten. There are also ample samples provided of his blatant philandering among his more docile female disciples.

Perhaps most telling of all Oliphant's revelations are those suggesting Brother Twelve was one of those highly irritating religious figures who insist that their followers do as they *say* rather than as they *do*.

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In this vein Wilson is revealed as living handsomely on Valdes "with fine linen and Limoges china" while his followers were being currently urged to embrace the spartan life with the first requirement of discipleship being "The Surrender of Personal Possessions."

This suggests more than a wisp of the charlatan, often corroborated when we're offered incidents of Wilson's indubitably ugly side when his security is threatened and his cover is prone to be blown. At times the risks he takes in the cause of avarice, or even of just plain lust for power, are so marked as to verge on the humourous. It seems he *had* to flirt with danger whether from boasting, greed, or a neurotic unrest with the status-quo. What marks him from other confidence men of his kind is his falling back on that sadistic streak when things were not panning out the way he wanted them — a phenomenon that occurred frequently enough with his brushes with the law.

In the incredible meticulousness of Wilson's plan for his motley assortment of devotees it is not too fanciful to suggest — as the author indeed indicates — that his own domestic background as an "Irvingite", (that is a member of the small nineteenth-century sect, the Catholic Apostolic Church), played a substantive part. But a true rag-bag of further influences to the elaborate metaphysics of Brother Twelve is also provided in this biography.

As Colin Wilson suggests in a lucid foreword to the book, there is, for example, the pervasive presence of the Quaker founder, George Fox. The Invocation of Light, which Wilson grandly claimed to have recovered at 5 a.m. on 27 April 1926 when meditating on the cult's first estate at Cedar-by-the-Sea is surely a reflection of the Quaker doctrine of the indwelling of the spirit. There are also hefty dollops of Gnosticism and Mithraism embedded in Brother Twelve's religious rhetoric which he seemingly turned on with the facility of twisting a tap.

But behind the knowledge, the high-flown language, and the occasionally prescient prophecy of things to come, was that ugly, naked will. This is the vicious side of Brother Twelve which fascinates the reader in its apparent cohabitation with a human potential of remarkable significance.

It is John Oliphant's triumph to maintain a sense of balance over this complex character while at the same time plotting a riveting narrative which is so powerfully rooted both in its historic Depression-era period, and its romantic West Coast setting. ♦

Novelist and critic David Watmough lives in Vancouver, British Columbia.

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Empress of the Atlantic

By Gavin Murphy

EMPRESS OF BRITAIN
Canadian Pacific's Greatest Ship

By Gordon Turner. Stoddart/Boston Mills Press, Toronto and Erin, Ontario, 1993. 216 pp., illus. $35.00.

Given the increasing interest in the Golden Age of the great ocean liners, especially since the discovery of *Titanic* in 1985, it was inevitable there would be a book on the *Empress of Britain*. Nevertheless, it is long overdue.

Toronto author Gordon Turner's lavishly illustrated volume on the *Empress* is the first retrospective of this famous ship. The *Empress* was launched in 1930 by the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VIII, at the John Brown shipyards in Clydebank, Scotland. It was 42,348 gross tons and had three immense funnels, making it the largest ship to sail under Canadian Pacific's famous red and white chequered house flag. The ship accommodated 465 in First Class, 260 in Tourist Class, 470 in Third Class and had a crew of over 700.

The *Empress* was the second of three CP ships to be so named. The first was the sister ship of the ill-fated *Empress of Ireland* that sank in the St. Lawrence River in 1914 with the loss of 1,014 lives. The third *Empress* entered transatlantic service in 1956 and is currently finishing out its lengthy career as the cruise ship *Fiesta Marina*. But the second *Empress of Britain* is the subject of Turner's book.

The second *Empress* was the flagship of the line. CP offered, and aggressively advertised, the shortest route from Europe to North America. This included one-and-a-half days of relatively sheltered sailing in the St. Lawrence River. Ships destined to New York travelled at least one day longer on the open sea. The slogan "39 Per-cent Less Ocean" was developed to attract passengers with weak stomachs to CP.

The *Empress* linked Southampton, England and Cherbourg, France with Quebec City from spring to autumn. CP trains were stationed alongside the docks at Quebec to meet the *Empress*, thus allowing for an uninterrupted journey on Canadian Pacific as far west as Vancouver or even to the Far East on CP's trans-Pacific liners. This was the era when CP quite legitimately claimed to be "the World's Greatest Travel System". In winter the *Empress* sailed on four-month world cruises, leaving from New York early in the New Year.

The *Empress* was no ordinary ocean liner. It was the last word in British shipbuilding, costing £2,130,723 (about $10,653,000). Public rooms were designed by five of England's leading artists. The ship was the fastest in the Canadian service with a speed of 24 knots. Amenities included a walnut-panelled library, Olympian Pool, gymnasium and children's play rooms. In recognition of its elegance and stature, the *Empress* was used by King George VI and Queen Elizabeth for their return trip home after the 1939 Royal Visit to Canada.

The northern transatlantic route to Canada was never as glamorous as the New York run. This might help explain why there is a dearth of material on the *Empress*. While many crossings and world cruises had a smattering of aristocrats, movie stars and captains of industry, arriving at Wolfe's Cove, Quebec did not create quite the same excitement as landing in Manhattan. Most of the *Empress*'s passengers were ordinary travellers sailing between Canada and Europe.

Following nine reliable, although financially unsuccessful, years in CP service that consisted of 93 Atlantic crossings to Canada and eight world cruises, the *Empress* was requisitioned by the British shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. Like all CP passenger ships, the *Empress* was staffed with British officers and registered in England. The *Empress* served as a troopship, carrying men and supplies to Britain. Returning from South Africa in October 1940 with 643

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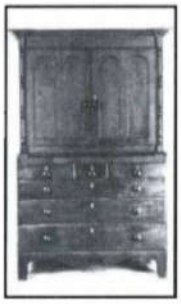

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aboard, it was bombed, torpedoed and eventually sank off the coast of Ireland, taking 45 people with it.

The author takes us through the entire story of the *Empress* from building to sinking. He culled from sources around the world to obtain numerous photographs, many published here for the first time. He talked to former passengers and crew to record unique insight and anecdotes. Several helpful appendices are also included containing statistical and technical information, as well as a listing of all ports of call visited by the *Empress* in its short life.

Turner neatly divides his book into chapters that follow the ship's career. As well as his own research, he relies heavily on archival material, especially from CP Rail Corporate Archives in Montreal. He also presents interesting memorabilia from the ship such as menus, abstract logs, baggage tags and deck plans.

There is a remarkable story to tell about the *Empress*'s tragic sinking. Unfortunately Turner dismisses it in a mere seven pages, three-and-a-half of which consist of photographs.

On the morning of Saturday, 26 October 1940 the *Empress* was attacked while en route to Liverpool by the *Luftwaffe* and left to die. The proud ship, painted a dreary gray for war service, held on tenaciously. Although engulfed in flames and abandoned, it would not give up. While being towed to port for possible salvage, the ship was torpedoed and sunk by the U-32. The U-boat itself was sunk only two days later by the Royal Navy.

The *Empress* has the dubious distinction of being the largest merchant ship casualty on the high seas during the Second World War. A more detailed account of its end, including interviews with people on board at the time, the Germans responsible and those who attempted to come to its aid would have provided fascinating reading. The story is out there and Turner should have dug a little deeper to find it. He acknowledges in his bibliography *The Floating Inferno,* a 1990 British book by Robert Seamer that describes the sinking. Too bad he didn't take greater notice of the details and/or sources in this book.

Criticism aside, Turner's book is an important contribution to Canada's maritime history and a worthy tribute to "Canadian Pacific's greatest ship". ◆

Gavin Murphy is an Ottawa lawyer with a special interest in transportation. His article on Charles Melville Hays of the Grand Trunk Railway appeared in the December 1993/January 1994 issue of "The Beaver".

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Love in the Bush

By Linda Turk

LETTERS OF LOVE AND DUTY
The Correspondence of
Susanna and John Moodie

Edited by Carl Ballstadt, Elizabeth Hopkins and Michael Peterman. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1993. 360 pp., illus. $35.00.

"Dearest and best, I have been anxiously looking for an opportunity of writing to you with the books, but no such occurring, my heart is sore to write to you, and I can delay no longer. Your affectionate and welcome letter made me very happy, and has done more to restore me to health, than all the Doctors in Canada. God bless you for all your goodness to me."

Susanna Moodie could write that to her husband while he was serving with the militia during the unrest following the 1837 rebellion in Upper Canada. She was left at home with four small children, she was ill, she was short of food and warm clothing, and she was being dunned by her neighbours.

Theirs was a marriage that never faltered. Always filled with entirely unjustified hope and faith in future security, John and Susanna Moodie lived with uncertainty and many sorrows. For thirty-eight years, their mutual love and their shared faith in a benevolent God sustained them through hardships it is difficult to imagine today.

It is also difficult to imagine two people less suited to pioneer life in a rough, new country. As Susanna's book *Roughing It in the Bush* makes clear to every reader, the Moodies found their years in the bush heavy going. Against all advice, they had settled eventually on an uncleared farm in Douro Township, but suffered severely from the lack both of money and of the humble, hard-working labourers they had assumed they would hire to do the actual work of clearing and improving their farm.

Fortunately, Moodie's militia ser-

Steamer *Northcote* at Fort Edmonton, 1875

BY PETER RINDLISBACHER

This splendid evocation of the pioneer Canadian West is the first in a series of paintings of historic prairie steamers by the distinguished Canadian marine artist Peter Rindlisbacher.

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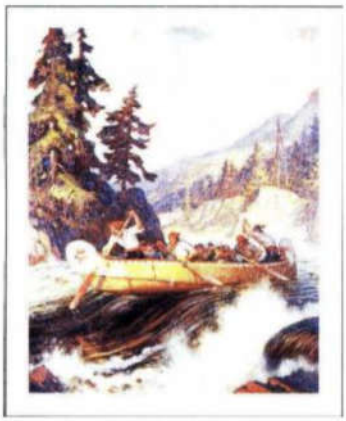
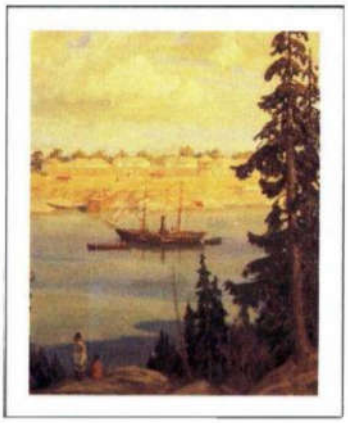
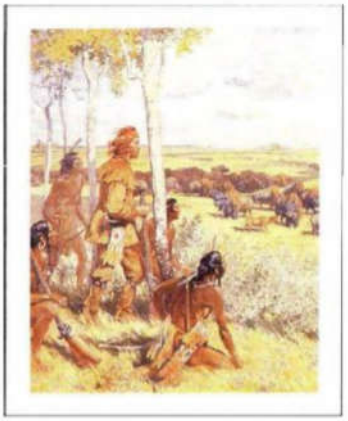
Historic Paintings by popular demand



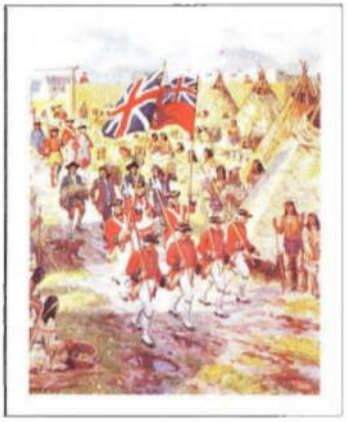
A. *Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Descending the Fraser*
By A. Sherriff Scott.



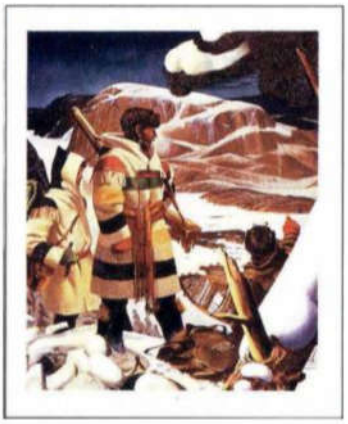
B. *S.S. "Beaver" Off Fort Victoria*
By A. Sherriff Scott.



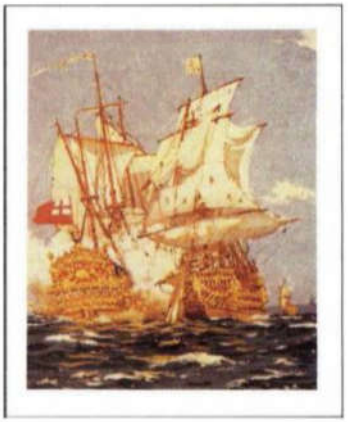
C. *Kelsey Sees the Buffalo*
By C.W. Jefferys.



D. *Trading Ceremony at York Factory*
By A. Sherriff Scott.



E. *R.M. Ballantyne and Chief Trader George Barnston at Tadoussac, 1846*
By Charles Comfort.



F. *Battle in the Bay, 1697*
By Norman Wilkinson.

Over the years the Hudson's Bay Company has commissioned distinguished Canadian painters to create works depicting important events in the long history of the Company. Among the most popular works in the HBC collection are those pictured above by C.W. Jefferys, A. Sherriff Scott, Norman Wilkinson and Charles Comfort.

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vice and the patronage system in place at the time led him to a post as Sheriff of Victoria District; the family took up residence in Belleville by the beginning of 1840. Lawsuits, both actual and threatened, led to his resignation, but this was an otherwise cheerful and productive time in their lives.

Susanna began to publish articles, poems, and her celebrated book. While the money this work brought in was certainly welcome, Susanna felt bolstered as well, in that her literary abilities were finally being recognized.

The three editors of this collection, and of their previous *Susanna Moodie: Letters of a Lifetime*, are to be admired for having so thoroughly steeped themselves in the lives of their subjects. The difficulties of tracing and tracking down so many of the Moodies' neighbours and associates must have been at times overwhelming, but there is an astonishing amount of detail present in the explication of what could have been obscure passages.

They have chosen a useful format, too, with the Moodies' lives sensibly set out in the natural divisions of time and place. Each section is preceded by practical supplementary information — biographical, political, historical — so that the reader has a context in which to place the letters that follow.

That helpful background information lets the reader appreciate the difficulties and the triumphs the Moodies experienced. In the end, we are left with a written portrait of two individuals, united by marriage, mutual regard, and the sure and certain faith that their abilities were certain to be rewarded. ◆

Reviewer Linda Turk, who lives at Kakabeka, Ontario, writes: "My interest in the Moodies began when I realized my ancestors were probably among the uppity neighbours who made life so difficult 'in the bush'."

THE PACKET

Letters, Notes and Opinion

History as Travesty

I applaud, with Christopher Moore, the efforts of many new writers in developing stories based on themes from our past. However the definition of "historical novel" needs refining, not only to differentiate between the traditional form and the new "faction" (that disgusting mix of fact and fiction which seems to be taking over much of the market), but to alert the reader that the work he may be contemplating to purchase is not what it purports to be.

Among the works cited in *Writers of History: The Past as Literature* [The Beaver, October/November 1993], the author includes George Bowering's *Burning Water* as a novel. By the simplest definition, a novel implies some originality in its creation which cannot, by the wildest stretch of the imagination, be attributed to Bowering's work. The author simply took the previously told story of the Vancouver voyage, added some fictional dialogue and, for "originality", had Vancouver engage in a homosexual liaison with Quadra, and then be murdered by Archibald Menzies! Small wonder that a lot of historians were apoplectic. *Burning Water* is not a novel, it is a travesty and the Canada Council made the same mistake as Christopher Moore in its identification.

The book's dust-jacket blurb advises that "... the wit of Vancouver's officers, the sardonic observations of the Indians, make a lively background to the story of George Vancouver." Some examples follow.

On wit, off the coast of Australia:

> "We have just passed a landfall that will be called from this day, Cape Howe."
>
> "I was going to suggest Cape Why," suggested Mr. Mudge.

More wit, while watching native girls at Tahiti:

> "This is my fifth visit," murmured Vancouver. "I will always love to bide a spell at Tahiti."
>
> "They should call it Ta*her*ti," said Puget.

On sardonic native observations on their imagined meeting with the Yankee trader, Magee:

> A Yankee named Magee stepped out of the nearby copse with a donkey loaded down with supplies. He held his hand up, palm forward.
>
> "How!" he said, in a deep voice.
>
> The two Indians made their faces look patient.
>
> "What is this 'How'?" asked the first Indian of his companion.
>
> "Search me," said the second Indian. "But we might as well go along with him".

For salty language Bowering introduces copious doses of the "f" word and "shit" into his pathetic dialogue. This from "a professor of English and a distinguished poet and critic ..."

Spare me.

Burning Water is not without its element of humour, albeit unintended and reflecting on the paucity of research that went into its concoction. Chapter 26, which describes a graphic coupling of Joseph Banks with a Tahitian maiden, closes with the sentence:

> "When he closed his eyes he felt the lovely urge of her body mining its lust, he heard the air rushing from her chest with every bump, the sloshing extrusions of

air from below, and he formed a picture in his mind's eye of Mrs. Banks."

At the time Joseph Banks was in Tahiti with Captain Cook, the only Mrs. Banks in his life was his mother!

My copy of *Burning Water,* purchased from a respected bookseller in Victoria, has on its cover a golden seal advising that the work was awarded the Canada Council Children's Literature Prize 1980! I had purchased the copy as a gift for my young granddaughter who shares my interest in Vancouver and fortunately I read the book before making the presentation. To the apoplectic reaction of the historians you can add my disgust and contempt. The Council regretted this unfortunate mix-up of labels, but that is all the satisfaction I received.

There is nothing wrong with new writers taking freedoms with the facts of history. They and their publishers, however, must be as honest as any advertiser in labelling their wares, and critics and reviewers must recognize what it is they are reading and voice a forthright opinion in return.

J.E. Roberts,
Victoria, British Columbia.

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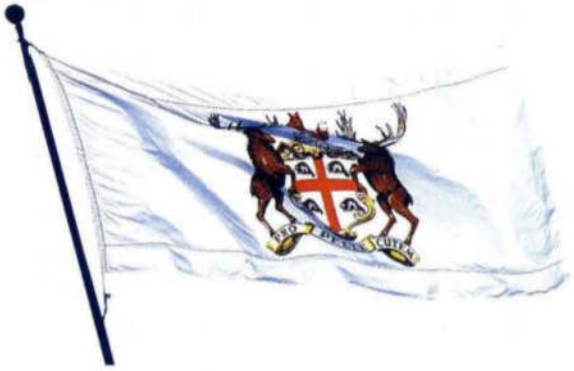
Flags of the Adventurers



Now the familiar "house flag" of the Hudson's Bay Company, the white banner bearing the famous HBC coat-of-arms has a long and dramatic history. It flew over ships of the Company's sailing fleet that left Gravesend for Hudson Bay in 1767 and it continued to identify Company vessels until the late eighteen hundreds. In this century it has been the standard of the HBC Governors and, since the 1970s, the Honourable Company's official flag. Now this fine 3 ft. x 6 ft. flag is available in weather-resistant nylon as a special limited offer to readers of *The Beaver.*

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Setting the Record Straight

A woman who died 77 years ago has been licensed by the Manitoba Legislature to practise medicine.

The resolution to grant Charlotte Ross, Quebec's and Manitoba's first woman doctor, a license posthumously was introduced by former Manitoba Liberal leader and MLA Sharon Carstairs. In introducing her resolution to the legislature, Carstairs paid tribute to "this courageous and dedicated pioneer and other women like her, who have never been properly honoured for the part they played in the building of this great country." The resolution passed unanimously. It made right what today's legislators obviously considered a wrong when a similar bill was shelved in 1888. It is the first time that a province has ever legislated a physician the right to practise.

Dr. Ross earned her degree at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, in 1875, before medical schools in Canada would admit women. After practising unlicensed in Quebec for five years, she moved with her husband, David, and family to Whitemouth, about 65 miles northeast of Winnipeg, where her husband owned a sawmill. For the next

Charlotte Ross

32 years, Dr. Ross treated the men who built the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the pioneer families who followed it west. She faced prosecution because she refused to leave her husband, eight children and frontier practice, where she was the only doctor, to spend mandatory time at a Canadian medical school and pass the all-male admissions board of the Manitoba College of Physicians and Surgeons.

In 1887 she appealed to the legislature to license her. Her appeal was denied for what now appear to have been political reasons. She practised until 1912, almost 25 years after the Manitoba Legislature refused to license her. Dr. Charlotte Ross died in Winnipeg in 1916 at the age of 73. She was never prosecuted.

A biography of Dr. Ross — *The Iron Rose* — was written by author Fred Edge and published by the University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, in 1993.

Forgotten?

In the continuing discussion over the writing of Canadian history, whether rigorously footnoted works or fiction, I have not seen the name of Charles G.D. Roberts. I am 80 years old, and I think it must be significant that I still remember reading three books by Mr. Roberts; I can remember only the titles *The Forge in the Forest* and *A Sister to Evangeline,* which I read probably sixty years ago. Does not that fact speak to the excellence of his books? He made the history of Acadia come alive for me. I have just recalled the third book: *By the Marshes of Minas.*

If he is now forgotten, it's a shame.

Gerard Chapman,
Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

Supposedly

What a strange comment by Allan Levine [*The Beaver, October/November 1993*] regarding Sharon Carstairs' book *Not One of The Boys*. What does "... Sharon Carstairs *supposedly* tells us about Meech Lake ..." mean?

It is obvious that Mr. Levine has not read the book — nor, in fairness, does he claim to have done so. However, Ms. Carstairs' book does describe her involvement in the Meech Lake controversy and I cannot fathom what he wished to convey by the use of the word "supposedly". My dictionary defines the word as "assumed as true; regardless of fact". Does he mean to convey the impression that (a) the book does not discuss Meech Lake or (b) the discussion of Meech Lake is not an accurate one or (c) neither of the above?

I note that the description of Mr. Levine's own book is less than modest and, in my opinion, self-serving. It is interesting that while the use of the word "supposedly" in describing Sharon Carstairs' work is pejorative the use of the word "fascinating" in describing his own work is quite the reverse.

Bernice B. Sisler,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

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The History of Beekeeping

In 1983 I published *The Archaeology of Beekeeping,* and I am now writing a comprehensive history of honey collection and hive beekeeping. I have consulted many Canadian beekeeping sources, and recently spent two weeks in different provinces, but I have still found no information as to when honeybees were first brought to the country, and when or where beekeeping began.

Honeybees were taken from England to Virginia in the early 1620s, and we have records of beekeeping in Massachusetts and Connecticut from the 1640s. Some early attempts in Canada may well have failed because of the cold winters, but it seems fairly certain that after 1783 Loyalists brought hives of bees to Quebec and Ontario, and some probably took them to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Upright log hives or boxes were used, and occasionally straw skeps. There were probably no bees or beekeeping in provinces west of

Ontario until the 1850s. Bees were first brought to British Columbia by sailing ship in 1858.

Early information about bees and beekeeping and uses of the honey and wax produced may exist in local records or family reminiscences, and I should be most grateful for any that readers can send me from before say 1880, and especially before 1800.

I have visited Canada frequently during the past forty years, and I should very much like to record in my book something about the beginning of beekeeping in your country.

Dr Eva Crane OBE DSc,
Scientific Consultant,
International Bee Research Association,
Woodside House,
Woodside Hill,
Gerrards Cross,
Bucks SL99TE,
England.
phone 0753-883082.

The editor of "The Beaver" welcomes contributions to The Packet. Comments on articles, observations on historic events and fresh information from unpublished sources are particularly encouraged. Letters may be edited for length.

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New Books And Old

The nominations are in! A couple of issues back, we invited *Beaver* readers to share their favourite books about Canadian history — old or recent, fact or fiction. Your responses have been livening up the mail ever since. Now it is time to report the first-ever winners from the Readers' Choice Survey.

As you might expect, *Beaver* readers explore many farflung corners of the Canadian past, and no single book or author dominated their choices. They nominated classic works as frequently as recent titles from the bestseller lists, and they often suggested relatively little-known or specialized works. British Columbia readers deserve a special salute: they produced almost a third of the nominations (though the titles they chose suggest some of them are nostalgic for the prairies).

One very recent book, the newly published collection called *Canadian Exploration Literature,* edited by Germaine Warkentin, was nominated twice. It is a collection of writings by the explorers themselves, and Gail Giuliani, of Echo Bay, Ontario, ("where so many explorers passed by canoe on their way West"), called it "an excellent anthology. ... There's a thrill in reading original sources." Paul Ulbrick of Mississauga, Ontario, who recommended the same book, wrote that "to read from the pages of the actual participant lends an immediacy, a vitality to history."

Writer Sandra Gwyn was also nominated twice, once for her recent *Tapestry of War,* which Patrick Royal Lee of Orono, Ontario, liked for the way it "traces the lives of ten people who were involved in the Great War," and once for her 1984 book *The Private Capital,* which Arthur E. Gregg of Penticton, British Columbia, called an "informative and candid behind-the-scenes look at the era of Macdonald and Laurier. Brilliantly written."

Other recently published histories our readers liked? Maggie Siggins's

The Readers' Choice Survey

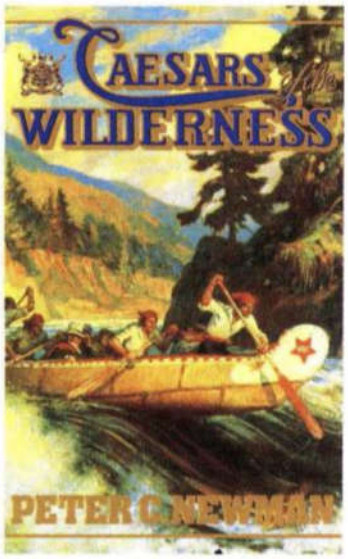
1992 Governor-General's Award-winner *Revenge of the Land: A Century of Greed, Tragedy and Murder on a Saskatchewan Farm* was praised by Miriam Guptill of Halifax, who wrote, "For me, the least superstitious of individuals, it painted a convincing portrait of generations struggling against an invisible and malevolent fate." Doug Beagrie, of Lethbridge, Alberta, nominated *Dead Silence* by Owen Beattie and John Geiger ("This archaeological detective story of the fated 1719 expedition of James Knight was fascinating reading.") Leonard Woods of Langley, British Columbia, praised John Oliphant's *Brother Twelve: The Incredible Story of Canada's False Prophet* as "a work of undoubtedly major interest to all students of the occult ... superbly written and well-referenced."

John R. Cobb, a Canadian living in Springfield, Oregon, cited Terry Pindell's *Last Train to Toronto* as a "very readable account of Canada's past and present against the backdrop of a rail journey across the country." Robert Serré of Ottawa admired Michel Gratton's *French Canadians: An Outsider's Inside Look at Quebec,* which he called "remarkable in its ability to explain French-Canadians both to themselves (like Gratton, I am Franco-Ontarian) and to English Canadians."

Caila Thompson-Hannant, age 8, of Victoria, B.C. (and the only nominator to identify herself as a young reader) liked the recent children's history *The Story of Canada* by Janet Lunn, Christopher Moore and illustrator Alan Daniel. "It taught me a lot and I was really interested. I also liked the illustrations," she wrote. Nominations for *The Story of Canada* also came from Naomi Katz of Vancouver ("People come alive ... magnificent and varied illustrations") and from Ed Murray of Dollard des Ormeaux, Quebec, who said both he and his grandchildren liked it. Ross and Kae Richards of Melfort, Saskatchewan, also suggested a book for young readers, *Soldier Boys* by David Richards, "an easy-reading mix of fiction for young people and a well-researched account of early Western Canadian history." (The Richardses, who added, "David Richards is our son," were the only nominators who acknowledged a personal connection to the book they chose.)

Beaver readers also enjoy discovering classic Canadiana. Murray R. Binsted of Iroquois Falls, Ontario, nominated Bruce Hutchison's fifty-year-old *The Unknown Country.* "Even though I have had it on my

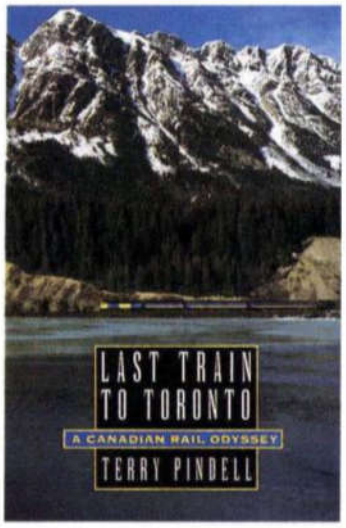
shelf for years, I discovered it in 1992 after the author's death. Hutchison writes about Canada with a love I've never felt in other Canadian authors. I saw the country through his eyes as a beautiful,



living being." Marjorie Croil of Summerland, B.C., recently read *Seven Rivers of Canada* by Hugh McLennan. "I was thrilled with and excited by it. It seems to expose what might be called the sources of the lifelines of our vast country." Ida Roberton of Nanaimo, B.C., wrote, "I recently read R.M. Patterson's *The Dangerous River* (1954, I think) and was sufficiently moved to reread it within weeks. Patterson was not only a woodsman, a canoeist, a good shot, a good cook and a bon vivant. He also had a gift for friendship and could write like an angel."

Two giants of our time also received mention. Pierre Berton's works were cited twice. Tom Queenan of Boston, Massachusetts, found Pierre Berton's *The Impossible Railway* (a one-volume compilation of Berton's history of the building of the C.P.R.) "monumental in its scope, fascinating in its kaleidoscopic cast, and gripping," while Stephen R. Morin of Nepean, Ontario, is proud to own a personally-autographed copy of his personal favourite, Berton's *The Arctic Grail,* "one of the most interesting and intriguing books I have read to date." Irene Smith of Chesley, Ontario, nominated Peter C. Newman's *Caesars of the Wilderness.* "It tells us who explored and opened up this glorious country."

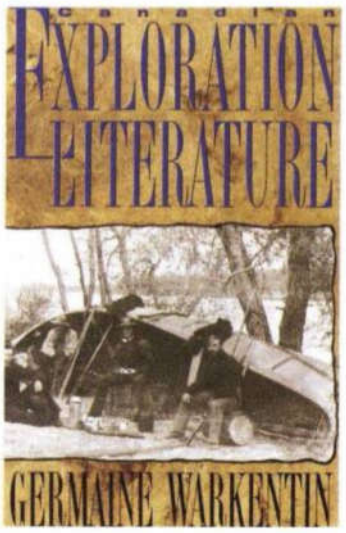
Having invited nominations of fiction as well as non-fiction, we heard praise for two novels about the Red River settlers. Barbara M. Longworth of Victoria, B.C., praised *The Red River Story,* a novel by Alfred Silver ("a wonderful, informative, personal touch to the



neglected details of that period"), while F.K. Harington of Calgary suggested *Uprooted Heather: A Story of the Selkirk Settlers* by Wemyss Cavaik ("this wonderful story of the incredible bravery and endurance of a people"). Peter Vogel of Sarnia, Ontario, chose poetry: Don Gutteridge's poem/novel cycle, *Time is the Metaphor,* which "reworked the history of our local area into a variety of forms and narratives ... I learned a great deal about my area's history and about myself."

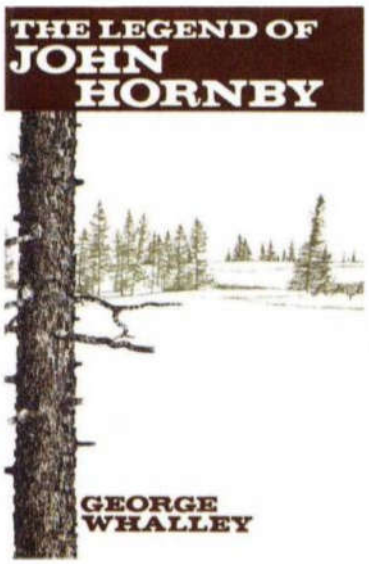
The two Red River novels were complemented by other stories of Western pioneering. Glen Mikkelsen of Kelowna, B.C., nominated the prolific Albertan Grant MacEwan for *Wildhorse Jack: The Legend of Jack Morton.* "MacEwan always loves a strong character, 'larger than life,' and here he finds a flamboyant personality to perfectly suit his writing style ... a positive and joyful book." H.S. Lorimer of Brockville, Ontario, praised C. Frank Turner's *Across the Medicine Line,* which celebrates the original Mounties who "laid the foundation stones of Canada when they ventured into the vast unknown West."

Roy Hoover, a professor of history at the University of Minnesota in Duluth, cited Doug Owram's scholarly study *The Promise of Eden* as "the single most important book to be published about the Canadian West ... since G.F.G. Stanley's *The Birth of Western Canada.*" Harry Tomblin of Dartmouth, Nova Scotia often re-reads *Tales of a Pioneer Surveyor,* the story of CPR pioneer Charles Aeneas Shaw, introduced by his son Norman A. Shaw. Another story of pioneer surveyors, though not set in the West, was the choice of Graham W. Bowden of Brampton, Ontario: John Ladell's *They Left Their Mark: Surveyors and Their Role in the Settlement of Ontario,* about "exceptional men



who by sheer physical strength and determination overcame the wilderness. Well written."

The North has its devotees too. Alongside the Beattie and Berton titles cited above, save room for Alex Inglis's biography *Northern Vagabond: The Life and Career of J.B. Tyrrell, the Man who Conquered the Canadian North,* the choice of David Lamb of Pickering, Ontario. ("You cannot help but feel, as Tyrrell did, the excitement, the cold and dangers, and that overwhelming desire to explore.")



Jeffrey Dinsdale of Quesnel, British Columbia, could not decide between two favourites: *The Legend of John Hornby* by George Whalley (1962) and *Coppermine — The Far North of George M. Douglas* by Enid Mallory. ("When read together they provide a fascinating window on Northern history.")

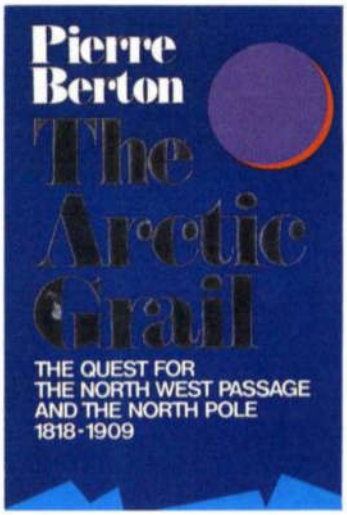
Betty Pidcock of Victoria, B.C., nominated *Spirit of the Yukon,* the story of northern airline pioneer Andrew David Cruikshank by his daughter June Cruikshank Lunny. H.V. Rankin of North Vancouver cited two aviation books much loved on the West Coast and perhaps too little known east of the mountains: *Spilsbury's Coast* and its companion *The Accidental Airline,* both by Jim Spilsbury and Howard White.

Three handbooks or collective works were nominated. Ron Chenier of Nepean, Ontario, praised Bob Bowman's *Dateline Canada* as "one of the most interesting, enjoyable, historical books about Canadian history." P.J. Moore of Sardis, B.C., liked the details in James P. Taylor, *Cardinal Facts of Canadian History.* ("*e.g.* 1 Jan 1899: letter postage was reduced from 3 cents to 2 cents.") David H. Palmer of MacDowall, Saskatchewan, recommended *Horizon Canada,* an illustrated, magazine-format history of Canada published in the 1980s. He called it "almost impossible to put down once you start reading it ... my favourite reading of Canada's colourful history."

For Beth Green of Belleville, Ontario, the best book was a local one: Betsy Dewar Boyce's *The Rebels of Hastings,* on the rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada's Hastings County. (Meticulously researched ... very readable. Downright enjoyable history!") For Peter J. Stevenson of Etobicoke, Ontario, it was a book about Canadians on the other side of the world: Carman Miller's *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War,* "an excellent reminder that Canadian soldiers were bringing glory to themselves and their country on a world stage long before the well-known battles of the Great War." And Janeth T. Sangster of Hensall, Ontario, shared her discovery of a biography which "flows so smoothly I found myself reading on and on far past the specific topic I was researching": A. Margaret Evans' *Sir Oliver Mowat.*

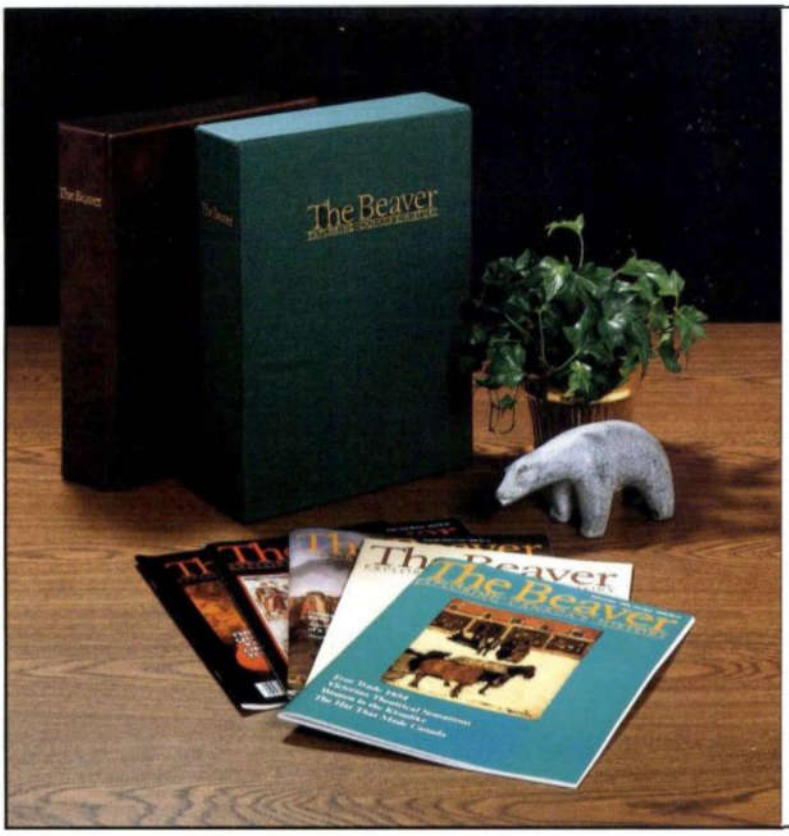
That completes this year's list: the history some *Beaver* readers have been reading and enjoying in 1993. It has been a pleasure to receive such a diverse range of suggestions, all with thoughtful comments that are only sampled here. We thank all those who took the time to write, and we hope you find some fresh ideas here for you own reading during 1994. (We haven't given publishers' names and dates, since some of the books are out of print and other have had various editions, but librarians or booksellers would help to locate them.)

There's one final item to report:



prizes! From all those whose suggestions are reported here, we chose a name at random for our special prize, the brand-new volume of the *Historical Atlas of Canada,* donated by the University of Toronto Press. And the lucky winner is: Robert Serré of Ottawa. All other suggestions here will be rewarded with copies of Peter C. Newman's *Empire of the Bay,* the illustrated companion to his history of the Hudson's Bay Company. ◆

The prize volumes will be mailed to the winners early in 1994. Congratulations to all who took part in the Readers' Choice Survey.



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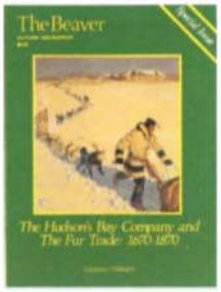

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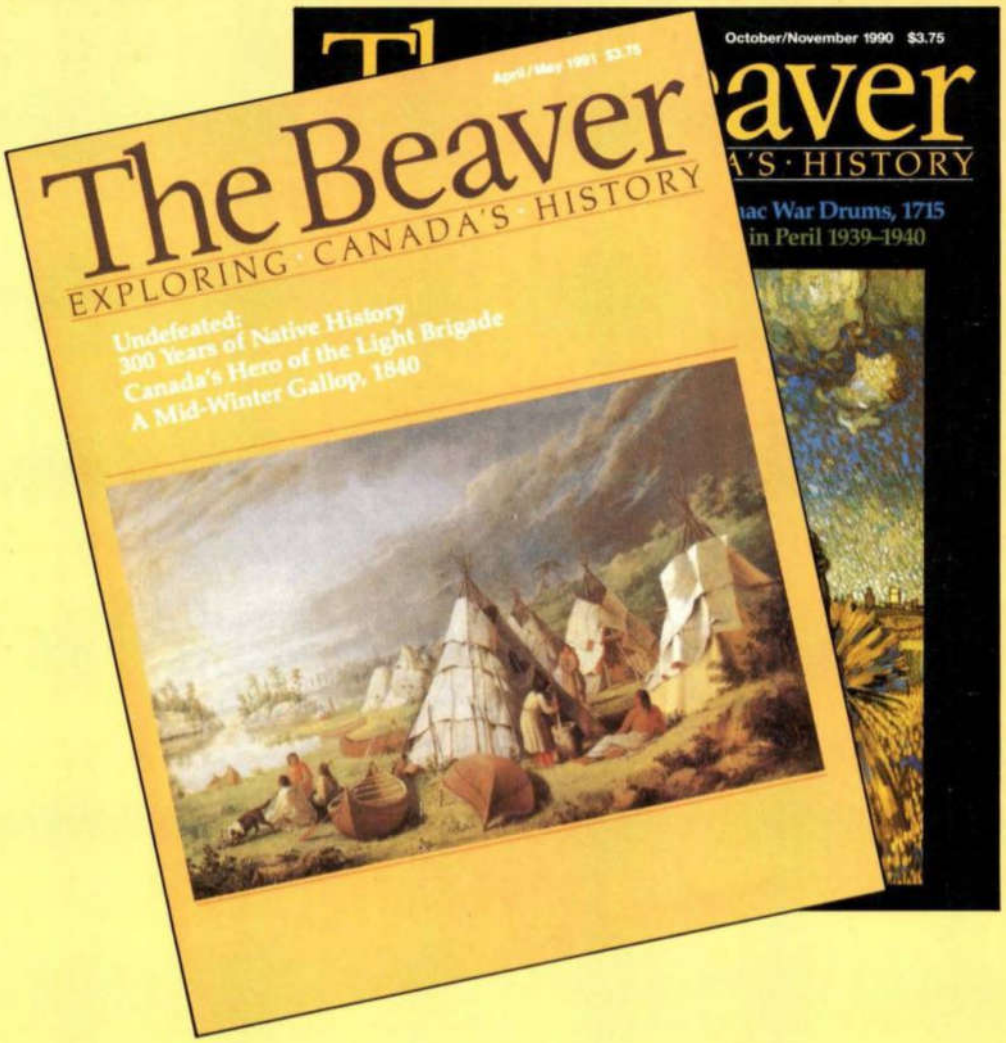

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